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THE LEIPSIC DISCUSSION, 1519.

THE clouds were gathering over Luther and the Reformation. The appeal to a General Council was a new attack on Papal authority. A bull of Pius II. had pronounced the greater excommunication against any one, even though he should be the Emperor himself, who should be guilty of such a rejection of the Holy Father's authority. Frederic of Saxony, scarcely yet well established in the evangelic doctrine, was on the point of banishing Luther from his states.* A second message from Leo X. would, in that case, have thrown the Reformer among strangers, who might fear to compromise their own security by harbouring a monk whom Rome had anathematized. And even if one of the German nobles had taken up arms in his defence, such poor knights, looked down upon with contempt by the powerful sovereigns of Germany, must ere long have sunk in their hazardous enterprize.

But at the moment when all his courtiers were urging Leo to rigorous measures, when another blow would have laid his enemy at his feet, that Pope suddenly changed his course, and made over

* Letter from the Elector to his envoy at Rome. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii p. 298.)

tures of conciliation.* Doubtless it may be said, he mistook the disposition of the Elector, and thought him much more favourable to Luther than he really was. We may allow that public opinion, and the spirit of the age—powers then comparatively new—might seem to Leo to surround the Reformer with an insurmountable rampart of defence. We may suppose, as one historian† has done, that Leo did but follow the impulse of his judgment and his heart, which inclined him to gentleness and moderation. But this method, so unlike Rome, at such a juncture, is so strange, that it is impossible not to acknowledge in it a more powerful intervention.

A noble Saxon, chamberlain to the Pope, and canon of Mentz, of Treves, and of Meissen, was then at the court of Rome. He had worked his way into favour. He boasted of his connection, by family relationships, with the princes of Saxony—so that the Roman courtiers sometimes called him Duke of Saxony. In Italy he paraded his German nobility. In Germany he affected awkwardly the manners and refinement of Italy. He was addicted to wine, and this vice had gained strength from his residence at Rome.‡ Nevertheless the Roman courtiers built great hopes on him. His German origin, his insinuating manner, and his skill in negociation, altogether persuaded them that Charles

* Rationem agendi prorsus oppositam inire statuit. (Card Pallavicini, Hist. Concil. Trid. vol. iv. p. 51.)

† Roscoe, vol. iv. p. 2.

‡ Nec ab usu immoderato vini abstinuit. (Pallavicini, vol. i. p. 69.)

Miltitz would, by his prudence, succeed in arresting the revolution that threatened the world.

It was important to hide the real object of the Roman chamberlain's mission—this was not difficult. Four years before, the pious Elector had petitioned the Pope for the *golden rose*. This rose was deemed to represent the body of Jesus Christ. It was consecrated every year by the Sovereign Pontiff, and presented to one of the leading princes of Europe. It was decided to present it this year to the Elector. Miltitz set out, with instructions to inquire into the state of affairs, and to gain over Spalatin and Pfeffinger, the Elector's counsellors. He was entrusted with private letters for them. By thus conciliating the co-operation of those who surrounded the Elector, Rome expected quickly to become the mistress of her now formidable adversary.

The new legate arrived in Germany, in December 1518, and endeavoured in the course of his journey to sound the general opinion. To his extreme astonishment he noticed, wherever he stopped, that the majority of the inhabitants were favourable to the Reformation. Men spoke of Luther with enthusiasm.* For one who declared himself on the Pope's side, he found three against him.† Luther has preserved an incident that occurred. "What is your opinion of the See (*sedia*) of Rome," often inquired the legate, of the mistresses and domestics

* Sciscitatus per viam Mitiius quanam esset in æstimatione Lutherus .... sensit de eo cum admiratione homines loqui. (Pallavicini, tom. i. p. 51.)

† Ecce ubi unum pro papa stare inveni tres pro te contra papam stabant. (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

of the inns. One day, one of these poor women answered with naivété: "What can we know of the sort of chairs (*sedia*) you have at Rome, whether of stone or wood."*

The mere report of the arrival of the new legate, spread suspicion and distrust in the Elector's court, the university, the city of Wittemberg, and throughout Saxony. "Thank God, Martin is still alive!" wrote Melancthon in alarm.† It was whispered that the Roman chamberlain had orders to get Luther into his power by stratagem or violence. On all sides the Doctor was advised to be on his guard against the snares of Miltitz. "He is sent," said they, "to seize and deliver you to the Pope. Persons deserving of credit have seen the brief with which he is furnished."—"I await the will of God," replied Luther.‡

Miltitz had indeed arrived, bearing letters addressed to the Elector, his counsellors, the bishops, and the burgomaster of Wittemberg. He brought with him seventy apostolic briefs. If the flattery and favours of Rome were successful, and Frederic should deliver up Luther, these briefs were to be used as passports. It was his plan to post up one of them in each of the towns on his route, and in this way to convey his prisoner to Rome, without opposition.§

* Quid nos scire possumus quales vos Romæ habeatis sellas, ligneasne an lapideas? (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

† Martinus noster, Deo gratias, adhuc spirat. (Corpus Reformatorum edidit Bretschneider, i. p. 61.)

‡ Expecto consilium Dei. (L. Epp. i. p. 191.)

§ Per singula oppida affigeret unum, et ita tutus me perduceret Romam. (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

The Pope seemed to have taken all his measures. In the Elector's court they scarce knew what course to pursue. Violence they might have resisted, but what to oppose to the head of Christendom, uttering the language of mildness and reason? would it not be well timed if Luther could lie concealed till the storm should have passed by? An unforeseen event came to the deliverance of Luther, the Elector, and the Reformation from this perplexing position. The aspect of the world was suddenly changed.

On the 12th of January, 1519, died Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany. Frederic of Saxony, agreeably to the Germanic Constitution, became administrator of the Empire. From that moment the Elector was relieved from the fear of nuncios and their projects. New interests were set to work in the Roman Court, which compelled it to temporize in its negociations with Frederic, and arrested the blow which it cannot be doubted Miltitz and De Vio had meditated.

The Pope had an earnest desire to exclude from the imperial throne Charles of Austria, then the reigning King of Naples—a neighbour on a throne was in his judgment more to be feared than a monk of Germany. Desiring to secure the co-operation of the Elector—who in this matter might be of so great service, he resolved to afford some respite to the monk that he might the better counterwork the king. In spite of this policy both made progress. It formed, however, the motive for the change in Leo X.'s proceedings.

Another circumstance contributed to avert the storm that impended over the Reformation. Poli-

tical troubles broke out immediately after the Emperor's demise. In the south the Suabian Confederation sought to avenge itself on Ulric of Wurtemberg, who had broken his allegiance. In the north the Bishop of Hildesheim invaded, with an armed force, the Bishopric of Minden and the states of the Duke of Brunswick. Amidst these confusions, how could the great ones of the age attach importance to a dispute concerning the remission of sins! But God made above all conducive to the progress of the Reformation the reputation of the Elector, now Vicar of the Empire, for prudence, and the protection he afforded to the new teachers.—"The tempest was hushed," says Luther, "the Papal excommunication began to be thought light of." Under shelter of the Elector the Gospel spread itself abroad, and hence no small damage to the cause of the Papacy.*

We may add that during an interregnum the severest prohibitions naturally lost much of their authority. Communication became more open and easy. The ray of liberty that beamed upon those first beginnings of the Reformation, helped materially to develop the yet tender plant; and a thoughtful observer might even then have discerned how favourable political liberty would one day be to the progress of evangelic Christianity.

Miltitz, who had reached Saxony before the death of Maximilian, had lost no time in visiting his former friend Spalatin; but scarcely did he begin to open his charges against Luther—before the chaplain broke out in complaint against Tetzel.

* Tunc desiit paululum saevire tempestas . . (L. Opp. lat. in praef.)

He acquainted the Nuncio with the falsehoods and blasphemies of the vendor of indulgences, and declared that all Germany ascribed to the Dominican's proceedings the dissensions that distracted the Church.

Miltitz was astonished. Instead of accuser, he found himself in the place of one accused. His wrath was instantly turned against Tetzel; and he summoned him to appear before him at Altenburg, and account for his conduct.

The Dominican, as cowardly as he was boastful, dreading the people whose indignation had been roused by his impostures, had discontinued his progresses through the towns and provinces, and was then living in retirement in the college of St. Paul. He turned pale on receipt of Miltitz's letter. Rome herself seemed to abandon him—to condemn him—and to tempt him to quit the only asylum in which he reckoned himself safe—as if to expose him to the anger of his enemies. Tetzel refused to obey the Nuncio's summons. He wrote to Miltitz on the 31st December, 1518—"Certainly I would not shrink from the fatigue of the journey if I could leave Leipsic without risking my life—but Martin Luther has so roused and excited powerful chiefs against me, that I am no where safe. A great number of his partisans have bound themselves by oath to put me to death; therefore I cannot come to you."* A striking contrast between the two men then dwelling, one in the college of St. Paul at Leipsic, and the other in the cloister of St. Augustine at Wittemberg. The servant of

* Loscher, ii. 567.

God manifested an intrepid courage in the face of danger;—the servant of men betrayed a contemptible cowardice.

Miltitz had been directed in the first instance to try the effect of persuasion; and it was only on the failure of this, that he was to produce his seventy briefs, and play off the favours of Rome so as to induce the Elector to restrain Luther. He therefore expressed a wish for an interview with the Reformer. Spalatin, their common friend, offered his house for the purpose, and Luther left Wittemberg for Altenburg on the 2d or 3d of January.

In this interview Miltitz exhausted all the stratagems of a diplomatist and Roman courtier. At the instant of Luther's arrival, the Nuncio approached him with great show of friendship—"Oh," thought Luther, "how is his former violence changed to gentleness. The second Saul came to Germany the bearer of seventy briefs, authorising him to drag me in chains to that homicide Rome, but the Lord has thrown him to the earth in the way."* "Dear Martin," said the Pope's chamberlain, in a persuasive tone, "I thought you were an old theologian, who, quietly seated at his fireside, had certain theological crotchets, but I see you are yet young and in the prime of life."†

"Do you know," continued he, assuming a graver tone, "that you have drawn away all the world from the Pope."‡ Miltitz well knew that it is by

* Sed per viam a Domino prostratus . . . . mutavit violentiam in benevolentiam fallacissime simulatam. (L. Epp. l. p. 206.)

† O Martine, ego credebam te esse senem aliquem theologum, qui post fornacem sedens . . . . (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

‡ Quod orbem totum mihi conjunxerim et papæ abstraxerim. (L. Epp. l. p. 231.)

flattering the pride of men that they are most readily deluded,—but he did not know the man he had to deal with.

"Even if I were backed by an army of twenty-five thousand men," continued he, "I truly would not undertake to kidnap and carry you to Rome."* Thus, notwithstanding her power, Rome felt weak when opposed to a poor monk, and the monk was conscious of strength in his opposition to Rome. "God arrests the billows on the shore," said Luther, "and he does so with the sand!"†

The Nuncio, thinking he had by these flatteries prepared the mind of Luther, thus continued: "Be persuaded, and yourself staunch the wound you have inflicted on the Church, and which none but yourself can heal. Beware, I beseech you," he added, "of raising a storm in which the best interests of mankind would be wrecked."‡ And then he gradually proceeded to hint that a *retractation* was the only way of remedying the evil, but instantly softened the objectionable word by expressions of high esteem for Luther, and indignation against Tetzel. The net was spread by a skilful hand,—what hope of escape from its meshes?

"If the Archbishop of Mentz had acted thus with me from the first," said Luther, at a later period, "this matter had not made the noise it has done."§

* Si haberem 25 millia armatorum, non confiderem te posse a me Romam perduci. (L. Opp. in præf.)

† L. Opp. (W.) xxii.

‡ Profusis lacrymis ipsum oravit, ne tam perniciosam Christiano generi tempestatem cieret. (Pallavicini, l. 52.)

§ Non evasisset res in tantum tumultum. (L. Opp. lat. in. præf.)

Luther spoke out; enumerated, with calmness, yet with earnestness and energy, the just complaints of the Church; he gave free expression to his indignation against the Archbishop of Mentz, and boldly complained of the unworthy manner in which the Roman Court had treated him, notwithstanding the purity of his intentions.

Miltitz, who had not expected so decided a tone, nevertheless suppressed his anger. "I offer," said Luther, "from this time forth to keep silence on these things, and to let the matter die away,* provided my enemies are reduced to silence; but if they continue their attacks, we shall very soon see a partial dispute give rise to a serious struggle. My weapons are ready prepared." After a moment's pause, he continued, "I will even go a step farther. I will write to his Holiness, acknowledging that I have been a little too violent; and declare that it is as a faithful son of the Church that I have opposed a style of preaching which drew upon it the mockeries and insults of the people. I even consent to put forth a writing, wherein I will desire all who shall read my works, not to see in them any attack on the Church of Rome, and to continue in submission to its authority. Yes, I am willing to do everything and bear everything: but as to a retractation, don't expect it from me."

Miltitz saw by Luther's resolute manner that the wisest course was to seem satisfied with what the Reformer was willing to promise. He merely proposed that they should name an Archbishop as

* Und die Sache sich zu Tode bluten. (L. Epp. i. 207.)

arbitrator on some of the points they would have to discuss. "Be it so," said Luther—"but I much fear that the Pope will not accept of any judge; if so, I will not abide by the Pope's decision, and then the dispute will begin again. The Pope will give us the text, and I will make my own commentary on it."

Thus ended the first interview of Luther with Miltitz. They met once again, and at this meeting the truce, or rather the peace, was signed. Luther immediately gave information to the Elector of all that had passed.

"Most serene Prince and gracious Lord," wrote he, "I hasten humbly to inform your Electoral Highness that Charles Miltitz and myself are at last agreed, and have terminated our differences by the following articles:—

"1. Both sides are forbidden to write or act, henceforward, in the question that has been raised.

"2. Miltitz will, without delay, communicate to his Holiness the state of affairs. His Holiness will commission an enlightened bishop to inquire into the affair, and to point out the erroneous articles which I am to retract. If proof is afforded me that I am in error, I will gladly retract, and never more do any thing that can lessen the honour or authority of the holy Roman Church."*

The agreement thus effected, Miltitz's joy broke forth. "For a century," said he, "no question has caused more anxiety to the Cardinals and Court

* L. Epp. i. p. 209.

of Rome. They would have given ten thousand ducats rather than see it prolonged."*

The Pope's chamberlain spared no marks of attention to the monk of Wittemberg; one moment he expressed his satisfaction, the next he shed tears. These demonstrations of sensibility but little moved the Reformer, yet he avoided betraying what he thought of them. "I feigned not to understand the meaning of those crocodile tears," said he.—The crocodile is said to weep when it is unable to seize on its prey.†

Miltitz invited Luther to supper. The doctor accepted the invitation. His host laid aside the dignity of his function, and Luther gave free vent to the cheerfulness of his natural temper. The repast was joyous;‡ and the moment of adieu arriving, the legate opened his arms to the heretic doctor, and saluted him.§ "A Judas kiss," thought Luther. "I affected not to understand these Italian manners," wrote he to Staupitz.‖

Would that salute, indeed, make reconciliation between Rome and the dawning Reformation? Miltitz hoped it might, and rejoiced in the hope; for he had a nearer view than the Roman Court could take of the terrible effect the Reformation was

* Ab integro jam sæculo nullum negotium Ecclesiæ contigisse quod majorem illi sollicitudinem incussisset. (Pallav. t. i. p. 52.)

† Ego dissimulabam has crocodili lacrymas a me intelligi. (L. Epp. i. p. 216.)

‡ Atque vesperi, me accepto, convivio lætati sumus. (Ibid. 231.)

§ Sic amice discessimus etiam cum osculo (Judæ scilicet.) (Ibid. 216.)

‖ Has Italitates. (L. Epp. i. 231.)

likely to produce on the Papacy. If Luther and his opponents are silenced, said he to himself, the dispute will be terminated; and Rome, by skilfully calling up new circumstances, will regain her former influence. To all appearance, therefore, the struggle was nearly passed—Rome had opened her arms and the Reformer had cast himself into them. But this work was not of man, but of God. It was the mistake of Rome to see only a controversy with a monk, in what was in reality a revival of the Church. The kisses of a papal chamberlain could not arrest the renewal of Christianity.

Miltitz, acting on the agreement that he had just concluded, repaired from Altenburg to Leipsic, where Tetzel was then residing. There was no need to enjoin silence on the Dominican, for he would gladly have sought, if possible, to hide himself in the bowels of the earth; but the Nuncio resolved to vent his wrath upon him. On arriving at Leipsic he cited him before him. He overwhelmed him with reproaches, accused him of being the cause of all the evil, and threatened him with the Pope's anger.* He went further: the agent of the house of Fugger, who was then at Leipsic, was confronted with him. Miltitz exhibited to the Dominican the accounts of that house, papers that bore his own signature! and demonstrated that he had squandered or appropriated to his own use considerable sums. The unhappy man, whom, in the day of his triumph, nothing could abash, was struck motionless by these well-founded charges.

* Verbis minisque pontificis ita fregit hominem, hactenus terribilem cunctis et imperterritum stentorem. (L. Opp. in præf.)

He shrunk despairingly—his health gave way—and he knew not where to hide his shame. Luther received intelligence of the miserable fate of his former adversary, and seems to have been the only person concerned for him. "I pity Tetzel," wrote he to Spalatin.* He did not stop there. It was not the man, but his actions, that he had hated. At the very time when Rome was pouring wrath upon him, Luther wrote to him a letter of consolation. But all was in vain! Tetzel, haunted by remorse of conscience, alarmed by the reproaches of his dearest friends, and dreading the anger of the Pope, died miserably, shortly afterwards. It was commonly believed that grief had hastened his end.†

Luther, in fulfilment of the promises that he had made to Miltitz, wrote to the Pope, on the 3rd of March, as follows:—"Most holy Father,—May your holiness condescend to incline your paternal ear, which is as that of Christ himself, toward your poor sheep, and listen with kindness to his bleating. What shall I do, most holy Father! I cannot stand against the torrent of your anger, and I know no way of escape. They require of me that I should retract. I would be prompt to do so, if that could lead to the result they desire. But the persecutions of my enemies have spread my writings far and wide, and they are too deeply engraven on the hearts of men to be by possibility erased. A retractation would only still more dishonour the Church of

* Doleo Tetzelium. . . . (L. Epp. i. p. 223.)

† Sed conscientia indignati Papæ forte occubuit. (L. Opp. in præf.)

Rome, and call forth from all a cry of accusation against her. Most holy Father, I declare it in the presence of God, and of all the world, I never have sought, nor will I ever seek, to weaken, by force or artifice, the power of the Roman Church or of your Holiness. I confess that there is nothing in heaven or earth that should be preferred above that Church, save only Jesus Christ the Lord of all."*

These words might appear strange, and even reprehensible in Luther, if we failed to bear in mind that the light broke in upon him not suddenly, but by slow and progressive degrees. They are evidence of the important truth, that the Reformation was not a mere opposition to the Papacy. It was not a war waged against a certain form or condition of things, neither was it the result of any *negative* tendency. Opposition to the Pope was its secondary sign. A new life, a positive doctrine, was its generating principle—"Jesus Christ the Lord of all, and who should be preferred before all," and above Rome herself, as Luther intimates in the latter words of his letter. Such was essentially the cause of the Revolution of the sixteenth century.

It is probable that a short time previous to the period we are recording, the Pope would not have passed over unnoticed a letter in which the monk of Wittemberg flatly refused any retractation. But Maximilian was no more;—it was a question who was to succeed him, and Luther's letter was disregarded

* Præter unum Jesum Christum Dominum omnium. (L. Epp. I. p. 234.)

in the midst of the political intrigues which then agitated the city of the pontiffs.

The Reformer turned his time to better account than his potent enemy. Whilst Leo the Tenth, absorbed in his interests as a temporal prince, was straining every nerve to exclude a formidable neighbour from the throne, Luther daily grew in knowledge and in faith. He studied the *decretals* of the Popes, and the discoveries he made materially modified his ideas. He wrote to Spalatin—"I am reading the *decretals* of the Pontiffs, and, let me whisper it in your ear, I know not whether the Pope is Antichrist himself, or whether he is his apostle; so misrepresented, and even crucified, does Christ appear in them."*

Yet he still esteemed the ancient Church of Rome, and entertained no thought of separation from it. "That the Roman Church," said he, "is more honoured by God than all others is not to be doubted. St. Peter, St. Paul, forty-six popes, some hundreds of thousands of martyrs, have laid down their lives in its communion, having overcome hell and the world, so that the eyes of God rest on the Roman Church with special favour. Though now-a-days every thing there is in a wretched state, it is no ground for separating from it. On the contrary, the worse things are going, the more should we hold close to it; for it is not by separation from it that we can make it better. We must not separate from God on account of any work of the devil, nor cease to have fellowship with the children

* Nescio an Papa sit Antichristus ipse vel apostolus ejus. (L. Epp. i. 239.)

of God, who are still abiding in the pale of Rome, on account of the multitude of the ungodly. There is no sin, no amount of evil, which should be permitted to dissolve the bond of charity or break the unity of the body. For love can do all things, and nothing is difficult to those who are united."*

It was not Luther who separated himself from Rome, but Rome that separated herself from Luther; and in so doing put from her the ancient faith of that Catholic Church which she then represented. It was not Luther who took from Rome her power, and obliged her bishop to descend from a throne that had been usurped: the doctrines he proclaimed, the word of the apostles, which God again made known in the Church with power and clearness, were alone effectual to dethrone the tyranny that had for centuries enslaved the Church.

These declarations of Luther, published toward the end of February, were not such as were altogether satisfactory to Miltitz and De Vio. These two vultures had both seen their prey escape them, and had retired within the walls of ancient Treves. There, under favour of the Archbishop, they nourished the hope of accomplishing by their union the purpose each had separately failed to effect. The two Nuncios saw plainly that nothing was to be expected from Frederic, now invested with supreme power. They saw that Luther persisted in his refusal to retract. The only chance of success consisted in depriving the heretical monk of the Elector's countenance, and then inveigling him within their reach. Once at Treves, in a state

* L. Opp. L. xvii. 224.

subject to a Prince of the Church, and no cunning will deliver him till he shall have fully satisfied the requirements of the Pontiff. They went to work without delay. "Luther," said Miltitz to the Elector Archbishop of Treves, "has accepted the arbitration of your Grace: we request you, therefore, to summon him before you." The Elector of Treves accordingly wrote on the 3rd of May to the Elector of Saxony, requesting him to send Luther to him. De Vio, and shortly after Miltitz himself, repaired to Frederic, to announce to him that the Golden Rose had arrived at Augsburg, consigned to the care of the Fuggers. The moment they thought had arrived for striking a decisive blow.

But affairs were changed—neither Frederic nor Luther was moved from his confidence. The Elector comprehended his new position, and no longer feared the Pope, much less his agents. The Reformer, seeing Miltitz and De Vio united, foresaw the fate that awaited him, if he complied with their summons. "On all sides," said he, "my life is waylaid."* Besides, he had appealed to the Pope, and the Pope, busy in intrigues with crowned heads, had not answered his appeal. Luther wrote to Miltitz, "How can I set out without an order from Rome in these troublous times? How can I expose myself to so many dangers, and such heavy expense, poor as I am?"

The Elector of Treves, a prudent and moderate man, and connected by relations of friendship with Frederic, resolved to consult the interests of the

* Video ubique, undique, quocumque modo, animam meam quæri. (L. Epp. i. p. 274. 16 May.)

latter. He had no wish to interfere unless positively required to do so. He, therefore, came to an agreement with the Elector of Saxony, to adjourn the examination to the ensuing Diet,—and it was not until two years after that the Diet assembled.

Whilst the dangers that threatened Luther were thus warded off by a providential hand, he himself was boldly advancing to a result he did not discern. His reputation was increased, the cause of truth gained strength, the number of students at Wittemberg increased, and among them were found the most distinguished youth of Germany. "Our city," wrote Luther, "can scarce hold the numbers who are arriving;" and on another occasion he observes, "The students increase upon us like an overflowing tide."*

But, already, the Reformer's voice was heard beyond the confines of Germany. Passing the frontiers of the Empire it had begun to shake the foundations of the Roman power among the several nations of Christendom. Frobenius, the celebrated printer of Basle, had put forth a collection of Luther's writings. They circulated rapidly. At Basle, the bishop himself commended Luther. The Cardinal of Sion, after reading his works, exclaimed, with an ironical play on his name, "O Luther! thou art a true Luther," (a purifier, *lauterer*).

Erasmus was at Louvain when the writings of Luther were received in the Low Countries. The Prior of the Augustines of Antwerp, who had studied at Wittemberg, and acquired, according to the tes-

* Sicut aqua inundans. L. Epp. i. p. 278, 279.

timony of Erasmus, a knowledge of primitive Christianity, read them with eagerness, as did other Belgians. But those who were intent only on their own selfish interests, remarks Erasmus, men who fed the people with old wives' tales, broke out in angry fanaticism. "I cannot tell you," wrote Erasmus to Luther, "the emotion and truly tragic agitation your writings have occasioned."*

Frobenius sent 600 copies of these writings to France and Spain. They were publicly sold in Paris: the Sorbonne doctors read them with approbation, as it would appear. It was high time, said some of them, that those who devoted themselves to biblical studies should speak out freely. In England these books were received with still greater eagerness. Some Spanish merchants translated them into Spanish, and forwarded them from Antwerp to their own country. "Assuredly," says Pallavicini, "these merchants must have been of Moorish blood."†

Calvi, a learned bookseller of Pavia, took a large quantity of copies to Italy, and distributed them in the transalpine cities. It was no desire of gain that inspired this man of letters, but a wish to contribute to the revival of the love of God. The power with which Luther maintained the cause of Christ filled him with joy. "All the learned men of Italy," wrote he, "will unite with me, and we will send you tributary verses from our most distinguished writers."

* Nullo sermone consequi queam, quos tragœdias hic excitarint tui libelli . . . (Erasm. Epp. vi. 4.)

† Maurorum stirpe prognatis. (Pallavicini, i. 91.)

Frobenius, in transmitting to Luther a copy of his publication, related these joyful tidings, and thus continued :—" I have sold all the impressions except ten copies, and no speculation ever answered my purpose so well as this." Other letters informed Luther of the joy his writings diffused. " I am delighted," said he, " that the truth is found so pleasing, although she speaks with little learning and in stammering accents."*

Such was the commencement of the awakening in the several countries of Europe. If we except Switzerland, where the preaching of the Gospel had been already heard, the arrival of the Doctor of Wittemberg's writings every where forms the first page in the history of the Reformation. A printer of Basle scattered the first germs of truth. At the moment when the Roman Pontiff thought to stifle the work in Germany, it began to manifest itself in France, the Low Countries, Italy, Spain, England, and Switzerland. Even though the power of Rome should fell the parent stem . . . . the seeds are henceforth spread abroad in all lands.

Whilst the conflict was beginning beyond the limits of the Empire, it seemed to be suspended within. The most turbulent allies of Rome, the Franciscan monks of Juterbok, who had imprudently attacked Luther, had retired in silence after a vigorous reply from the Reformer. The Pope's partisans were no longer heard—Tetzel was incapable of any movement. The friends of Luther entreated him to give over further contest, and he

* In his id gaudeo, quod veritas, tam barbare et indocte loquens, adeo placet. (L. Epp. i. 255.)

had promised to do so. The theses were beginning to be forgotten. This hollow peace struck powerless the eloquence of the Reformer. The Reformation appeared arrested in its progress—"But," observed Luther, speaking subsequently of this period, "men were forming vain schemes, for the Lord had arisen to judge among the nations."* Elsewhere we find him exclaiming, "God does not conduct, but drives me, and carries me forward. I am not master of my own actions. I would gladly live in peace, but I am cast into the midst of tumult and changes."†

The scholastic Eck, author of the Obelisks, and Luther's early friend, was the first to re-commence the combat. He was sincerely attached to the Papacy; but he appears to have been a stranger to the religion of the heart, and to have been of that class, too numerous in every age, who look upon science, and even upon theology and religion, as means of advancement in the world. Vain glory dwells under the cassock of the pastor as well as under the armour of the warrior. Eck had applied himself to the logic of the schools, and was acknowledged an adept in this kind of controversy. Whilst the knights of the middle ages, and the warriors of the age of the Reformation, sought glory in tournaments, the scholastic pedants contended for distinction in those syllogistic discussions for which the academies often afforded a stage. Eck, full of confidence in him-

* Dominus evigilavit et stat ad judicandos populos. (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

† Deus rapit, pellit, nedum ducit me; non sum compos mei; volo esse quietus, et rapior in medios tumultos. (L. Epp. i. 231.)

self, and proud of the popularity of his cause, and of the prizes he had won in eight universities of Hungary, Lombardy, and Germany, ardently desired an opportunity of displaying his ability and address. The "obscure monk," who had so suddenly grown into a giant—this Luther, whom no one had hitherto humbled—offended his pride and aroused his jealousy.* It may have occurred to him, that in seeking his own glory he might ruin the cause of Rome . . . But scholastic pride was not to be checked by such a thought. Divines, as well as princes, have at times sacrificed the general weal to their own personal glory. We shall see what particular circumstance afforded the Doctor of Ingolstadt the desired opportunity of entering the lists with his rival.

The zealous but too ardent Carlstadt was still in communication with Luther; they were also especially united by their attachment to the doctrine of grace, and by their admiration for St. Augustine. Of enthusiastic character and small discretion, Carlstadt was not a man to be restrained by the skill and policy of a Miltitz. He had published against Eck's *Obelisks* some theses, wherein he espoused the opinions of Luther and their common faith. Eck had put forth a reply, and Carlstadt had not left him the advantage of the last word.† The discussion grew warm. Eck, desiring to profit by the opportunity, had thrown down the gauntlet, and the impetuous Carlstadt had taken it up. God used

* Nihil cupiebat ardentius, quam sui specimen præbere in solemni disputatione cum æmulo. (Pallavicini, tom. i. p. 55.)

† Defensio adversus Eckii monomachiam.

the passions of these two men to bring about his purposes. Luther had taken no part in these discussions, and yet he was destined to be the hero of the struggle. There are some men who by the necessity of the case are continually brought forward on the stage. It was settled that Leipsic should be the scene of the discussion. This was the origin of the Leipsic dispute, afterwards so famous.

Eck thought it a small thing to contest the question with Carlstadt. It was his object to humble Luther. He therefore sought by every means to tempt him into the field, and for this end put forth thirteen theses,* which he so framed as to bear directly on the principal doctrines of the Reformer. The 13th was in these words,—"We deny that the authority of the Roman Church did not rise above that of other churches before the time of Pope Sylvester: and we acknowledge in every age as successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ him who was seated in the chair and held the faith of St. Peter." Sylvester lived in the time of Constantine the Great; Eck, therefore, in this thesis, denied that the primacy possessed by Rome was given to it by that emperor.

Luther, who had consented, not without reluctance, to remain silent, was deeply moved as he read these propositions. He saw that they were directed against him, and felt that he could not decline the challenge without disgrace. "That man," said he, "declares Carlstadt to be his antagonist, and at the same moment attacks me. But God reigns. He

* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 242.

knows what it is that He will bring out of this tragedy.* It matters little how it affects Doctor Eck or me. The purpose of God must be fulfilled. Thanks to Eck, this, which has hitherto been but a trifle, will in the end become a serious matter, and strike a fatal blow against the tyranny of Rome and her Pontiff."

The truce had been broken by Rome herself. Nay more, in again giving the signal of battle, the contest had been transferred to a quarter which Luther had not yet directly attacked. Eck had called the attention of his adversaries to the *primacy* of Rome. He thus followed the dangerous example of Tetzel.† Rome invited the stroke;—and if in the result she left on the arena proofs of her defeat, it is certain that she herself had provoked the formidable blow.

The Pontiff's supremacy once overturned, all the superstructure of Rome must needs crumble into dust. Hence the papacy was in danger, and yet neither Miltitz nor Cajetan took any step to prevent this new contest. Could they imagine the Reformation subdued—or were they smitten with the blindness which deludes the powerful to their ruin?

Luther, who had set a rare example of moderation in keeping silence so long, boldly accepted the challenge of his new antagonist. He put forth some fresh theses in reply to those of Eck. The concluding one was thus expressed—"It is by con-

* Sed Deus in medio horum; ipse novit quid ex eâ tragediâ deducere voluerit. (L. Epp. i. 230. 222.)

† See Vol. I. p. 331.

temptible decretals of Roman Pontiffs, composed hardly four centuries ago, that it is attempted to prove the primacy of the Roman Church;—but arrayed against this claim are eleven centuries of credible history, the express declarations of Scripture, and the conclusions of the Council of Nice, the most venerable of all the councils."*

"God knows," wrote Luther, at the same time to the Elector, "that it was my fixed purpose to keep silence, and that I was rejoiced to see the struggle brought to a close. I was so scrupulous in my adherence to the treaty concluded with the Pope's commissary, that I did not answer Sylvester Prierias, notwithstanding the taunts of my adversaries, and the advice of my friends. But now Dr. Eck attacks me; and not me only, but the whole University of Wittemberg. I cannot allow truth to be thus loaded with opprobrium."†

Luther wrote at the same time to Carlstadt: "Worthy Andrew, I am not willing that you should enter on this dispute, since the attack is in reality directed against me. I gladly lay aside my serious studies to turn my strength against these parasites of the Pontiff."‡ Then turning to his adversary, and disdainfully calling from Wittemberg to Ingolstadt, he exclaims, "Now then, dear Eck, take courage,—gird on thy sword.§ If I could not please

* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 245.

† L. Epp. i. p. 257.

‡ Gaudens et videns posthabeo istorum mea seria ludo. (L. Epp. i. 251.)

§ Esto vir fortis et accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime! (Ibid.)

thee when thou camest as a *go-between*, perhaps I may better satisfy thee as an antagonist. Not that I, of course, can expect to overcome thee,—but that after all thy triumphs in Hungary, Lombardy, Bavaria, (if we are to believe thy own report,) I shall be giving thee the opportunity of earning the name of conqueror of Saxony and Misnia!—so that thou shalt ever after be hailed with the glorious epithet of *August.*"*

All Luther's friends did not share in his courage, —for no one had hitherto been able to resist the sophisms of Eck. But their great cause of alarm was the subject matter of the dispute . . . the Pope's primacy! How can the poor monk of Wittemberg dare to stand up against the giant who for ages has crushed all his enemies? The courtiers of the Elector were alarmed. Spalatin, the prince's confidant, and the intimate friend of Luther, was filled with apprehensions. Frederic himself was not at ease. Even the sword of the Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, with which he had been invested at Jerusalem, would not avail him in this struggle. Luther alone was unmoved. "The Lord," thought he, "will deliver him into my hand." His own faith furnished him with encouragement for his friends. "I beseech you, my dear Spalatin," said he, "do not give way to fear. You well know that if Christ had not been on our side, what I have already done must have been my ruin. Even lately did not news come from Rome to the Duke of Pomerania's chancellor, that I had destroyed all respect for Rome, and that no way appeared of

* Ac si voles semper Augustus saluteris in æternum. (L. Epp. i. 251.)

quieting the general feeling; so that it was intended to deal with me, not judicially, but by Roman stratagem; such were the words used—I suppose meaning poison, ambush, or assassination!"

"I restrain myself, and out of regard to the Elector and the University, I keep back many things which I would employ against Babylon, if I were elsewhere. O, my dear Spalatin, it is not possible to speak truth concerning Scripture and the Church, without rousing the beast. Don't expect to see me at peace unless I renounce the study of divine things. If this matter be of God, it will not end till all my friends have forsaken me, as all the disciples of Christ forsook him. Truth will stand unaided, and will prevail by his right hand, not mine or yours, or by any other man's.* If I perish, the world will not perish with me. But wretch that I am, I fear I am not worthy to die in such a cause." "Rome," wrote he again about this time, "Rome eagerly longs for my destruction, and I grow weary of defying her. I am credibly informed that a paper effigy of Martin Luther has been publicly burnt in the Campus Floralis at Rome, after being loaded with execrations. I await their onset."† "The whole world," he continued, "is in motion and shaking. What will be the consequence, God alone knows. For my part, I foresee wars and calamities. God have mercy on us!"‡

Luther wrote letter after letter to Duke George,

* Et sola sit veritas, quæ salvet se dexterâ suâ, non meâ, non tuâ, non ullius hominis . . . (L. Epp. i. 261.)

† Expecto furorem illorum. (Ibid. 280 of the 30th May, 1519.)

‡ Totus orbis nutat et movetur, tam corpore quam animâ. (Ibid.)

to ask permission of that prince,* in whose states Leipsic was situated, to repair thither, and take part in the discussion: still he received no answer. The grandson of the Bohemian king Podiebrad, alarmed by Luther's proposition touching the Pope's authority, and fearing, lest Saxony should become the theatre of struggles similar to those which had long ravaged Bohemia, resolved not to consent to Luther's request. The latter hereupon decided to publish some explanations of his thirteenth thesis. But this tract, so far from persuading Duke George, strengthened him in his resolution; and he decidedly refused the Reformer his permission to take part in the discussion, allowing him only to be present as a spectator.† Luther was greatly mortified; nevertheless it was his desire simply to follow God's leadings, and he resolved to repair thither, to witness what took place, and wait any opening that might offer.

At the same time, the prince promoted by all his influence the discussion between Eck and Carlstadt. George was devotedly attached to the established doctrine—but he was upright, sincere, a friend to free enquiry, and far from deeming all exercise of individual judgment in such things justly open to the charge of heresy, merely because it might give offence to Rome. Add to this, the Elector united his influence with his cousin, and George, em-

* Ternis literis, a duce Georgio non potui certum obtinere responsum. (Ibid. p. 282.)

† Ita ut non disputator sed spectator futurus Lipsiam ingrederer. (L. Opp. in præf.)

boldened by the language of Frederic, ordered that the dispute should take place.*

Bishop Adolphus of Merseburg, in whose diocese Leipsic was situate, saw more clearly than Miltitz and Cajetan the danger of subjecting questions of such high importance to the uncertain issue of a single combat. Rome could not well expose to such hazard the acquisition of several centuries. All the divines of Leipsic sharing in the alarm, entreated their bishop to interfere and prevent the discussion. Adolphus, therefore, earnestly dissuaded Duke George, but the latter answered with much good sense:† "I am surprised to find a bishop holding in abhorrence the ancient and laudable custom of our fathers, to enquire into doubtful questions in matters of faith. If your theologians object to defend their doctrines, the money given them would be better bestowed in maintaining old women and children, who at least might sew and sing."

This letter produced little effect on the bishop and his divines. Error has a hidden conscience which makes its supporters fear discussion, even while they talk most largely of free enquiry. Advancing without circumspection, it draws back with cowardice. Truth provokes not, but holds firm. Error provokes enquiry and then retires. The prosperity of the university of Wittemberg was an object of jealousy at Leipsic. The monks and the priests from their pulpits besought the people to avoid the new heretics. They reviled Luther, de-

* Principis nostri verbo firmatus. (L. Epp. i. 255.)

† Schneider, Lips. Chr. iv. 168.

picting him and his friends in the darkest colours, to rouse the fanaticism of the lowest classes against the doctors of the Reformation.* Tetzel himself, who was still living, exclaimed from his retreat, "It is the devil himself who is urging on this contest."†

Still not all the Leipsic professors were of this opinion. Some belonged to the class of indifferent spectators, ever ready to find amusement in the faults of both sides. Of this number was Peter Mosellanus. He cared little for John Eck, or Carlstadt, or Martin Luther, but he promised himself much amusement from their contest. "John Eck, the most illustrious of gladiators of the pen and rhodomontadists," said he, writing to his friend Erasmus, "John Eck, who, like the Socrates of Aristophanes, looks down upon the gods themselves, is about to come to blows with Andrew Carlstadt. The battle will end in smoke. There will be matter for mirth for ten Democrituses."‡

On the other hand, the timid Erasmus was alarmed at the idea of a dispute; and his prudence tried to prevent the discussion. "If you would trust Erasmus," wrote he to Melancthon, "you would apply yourself rather to the cultivation of literature, than to disputes with its enemies.§ In that way I think we should get on better. Above

* Theologi interim ne proscindunt . . . populum Lipsiæ inclamant. (L. Epp. i. 255.)

† Das walt der Teufel! (Ibid.)

‡ Seckendorf, p. 201.

§ Malim te plus operæ sumere in asserendis bonis litteris, quam in sectandis harum hostibus. (Corpus Reform. ed. Bretschneider, i. 78, April 22, 1519.)

all, let us remember in the contest that we must not conquer by force of words only, but also by modesty and gentleness." Neither the fears of the priests, nor the prudence of pacificators, could now prevent the contest. Each party prepared himself.

Eck was the first to arrive at the place of rendezvous. On the 21st of June he entered Leipsic, accompanied by Poliander, a young man whom he had brought from Ingolstadt to take notes of the discussion. He was received with great honours. Attired in priestly garments, at the head of a numerous procession, he passed through the streets of the city on *Corpus Christi* day. All crowded to see him. "The whole population was in my favour," said he, in speaking of it; "nevertheless," he continues, "a rumour was spread abroad in the city that I should be defeated in the encounter."

The day after the festival, Friday the 24th of June, and St. John's day, the party from Wittemberg arrived in Leipsic. Carlstadt, who was to conduct the controversy against Eck, was alone in his travelling car, in advance of the rest. Duke Barnim of Pomerania, who was at that time studying at Wittemberg, and had been chosen Rector of the University, followed in an open carriage. Seated beside him were the two celebrated divines—the fathers of the Reformation—Melancthon and Luther. Melancthon had refused to be separated from his friend. "Martin, that soldier of Jesus Christ," were his words to Spalatin, "has stirred up all this filthy bog.* My soul is moved with indignation when I think of the shameful conduct of the Pope's

* Martinus, Domini miles, hanc camarinam movit. (Corp. Ref. i. 82.)

doctors. Stand firm and constant with us." Luther himself had requested his Achates, as he has been termed, to bear him company.

John Lange, vicar of the Augustines, several doctors of law, a few masters of arts, two licentiates in theology, and other ecclesiastics, among whom was noticed Nicholas Amsdorff, closed the procession. Amsdorff, descended from a noble family of Saxony, far from being fascinated by the brilliant career to which his birth seemed to call him, had devoted himself to theology. The theses on Indulgences had led him to the knowledge of the truth. Instantly he had made a courageous profession of faith.* Of energetic mind and vehement character, Amsdorff was accustomed to urge on Luther, already by nature prompt to actions of questionable prudence. Born to elevated station, he was not awed by rank, and in addressing the great he spoke at times with a freedom bordering upon rudeness. "The gospel of Jesus Christ," said he, in presence of a noble assembly, "belongs to the poor and afflicted, and not to princes, lords, and courtiers, such as you, who live in a round of pleasures and enjoyments."†

But this was not all the array of Wittemberg. A large body of students accompanied their teachers. Eck affirms that there were as many as two hundred. Armed with pikes and halberds they attended the doctors in their route, resolved to defend them, and proud of their cause.

In this order the procession of the Reformers

* Nec cum carne et sanguine diu contulit, sed statim palam ad alios fidei confessionem constanter edidit. (M. Adami Vita Amsdorff.)

† Weismann, Hist. Eccl. i. p. 1444.

arrived at Leipsic. Just as it had passed the Grimma gate, and had reached the cemetery of St. Paul, a wheel of Carlstadt's travelling car broke down. The archdeacon, whose vanity was pleasing itself with so solemn an entry, was precipitated into the mud. He was not hurt, but was compelled to proceed on foot to the place assigned for his abode. Luther's chariot, which was following that of Carlstadt, got before him, and bore the Reformer safe and sound to his destination. The people of Leipsic, who had assembled to witness the entry of the champions of Wittemberg, interpreted this accident as an ill omen for Carlstadt; and it was soon a prevalent impression that he would break down in the conflict, but that Luther would remain master of the field.*

Adolphus of Merseburg was not idle. As soon as he learned the approach of Luther and Carlstadt, and even before they had alighted, he caused to be affixed on the doors of the churches a notice prohibiting the opening of the discussion under pain of excommunication. Duke George, astounded at this audacity, directed the city council to tear down the bishop's placard, and committed to prison the daring meddler who had ventured to be the agent of his orders.† George had himself arrived at Leipsic. He was accompanied by all his court; among the rest by Jerome Emser, with whom Luther had spent a memorable evening at Dresden.‡ George made the customary presents to the two disputants. "The Duke," said Eck boastfully, "pre-

* Seb. Fröschel vom Priesterthum. Wittemb. 1585, in Præf.

† L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 245. ‡ See vol. I. p. 247.

sented me with a fine stag, and to Carlstadt he gave only a roebuck."*

The moment Eck heard that Luther had arrived, he repaired to the doctor's lodging:—"What is this?" said he, "I am told you object to dispute with me."—LUTHER. "How can I dispute since the Duke forbids me to do so."—ECK. "If I am not allowed to dispute with you, I shall take very little interest in discussing with Carlstadt. It is on your account I am here."† Then, after a moment's silence, he continued, "If I obtain the Duke's permission, will you take the field?"—LUTHER (overjoyed). "Only obtain permission, and we will meet."

Eck instantly waited on the Duke; he laboured to dissipate his fears; he assured him that he was certain of victory, and that the Pope's authority far from suffering by the dispute, would come out of it the more glorious. "It was fit," he said, "that the argument should bear against the principal party.—If Luther remains unhumbled, every thing is still to be done; if he is overcome, all is at an end." George granted the desired permission.

The Duke had had a large apartment prepared in his palace, named Pleissenburg. Two elevated pulpits had been erected opposite each other,—tables had been placed for the notaries engaged to take notes of the discussion, and benches were ranged around for the audience. The pulpits and benches were hung with rich tapestry. In front of that intended for the

* Seckend. p. 190.

† Si tecum non licet disputare neque cum Carlstatio volo; propter te enim huc veni. (L. Opp. in Præf.)

doctor of Wittemberg, was suspended the portrait of St. Martin;—on that of Eck was the figure of St. George.—"We shall see," said the haughty Eck, as he contemplated this emblem—"if I do not trample my antagonists under my feet." Every thing announced the high importance attached to the dispute.

On the 25th of June, a meeting was held in the Castle to settle the order that should be followed. Eck, who placed even more dependence on his declamation and action, than on his arguments, exclaimed, "We will dispute freely and extempore, and the notaries need not take down our words."

Carlstadt. "It was understood that the discussion should be written, printed, and submitted to the judgment of the public."

Eck. "Writing down all that is said wearies the minds of the disputants, and protracts the contest. There is an end at once of the spirit necessary to give animation to discussion. Do not delay the flow of eloquence."*

The friends of Eck supported his proposal;—but Carlstadt persisted in his objections, and the champion of Rome was obliged to give way.

Eck. "Well, be it so; let it be in writing: but at least the discussion taken down by the notaries must not be made public before it has been submitted to the inspection of chosen judges."

Luther. "Then does the truth that Doctor Eck and his followers hold dread the light?"

Eck. "There must be judges."

Luther. "What judges?"

* Melancth. Opp. i. p. 139. (Koethe ed.)

Eck. "When the discussion is closed, we will settle who they shall be."

The object of the Romanists was apparent. If the Wittemberg divines accepted judges they were lost: for their adversaries were previously secure of the favour of those who would be applied to. If they refused to abide their decision, their enemies would cover them with shame, by circulating the report that they feared to submit themselves to impartial award.

The Reformers demanded for judges—not this and that individual, whose opinion had been previously formed, but the general body of Christians. It was to this universal suffrage they appealed. Besides; sentence of condemnation given against them would, in their judgment, matter little, if, in defending their cause before the christian world, they should lead souls to the discovery of the light. "Luther," says a Roman historian, "required the whole body of believers for his judges,—in other words, a tribunal so extensive that no urn would be found to receive the suffrages."*

The parties separated.—"Observe their artifices," remarked Luther and his friends to each other—"They no doubt mean to require that the Pope or the Universities should be the judges of the result."

In fact, on the following morning the Romish party sent one of their number to Luther, with instructions to propose to him.... the Pope.... as judge—the Pope! "The Pope!" said Luther, "how can I accede to such a proposal?"

* Aiebat, ad universos mortales pertinere judicium, hoc est ad tribunal cujus colligendis calculis nulla urna satis capax. (Pallavicini, tom. i. p. 55.)

"Beware," said all his friends, "of accepting such unjust conditions."—Eck and his advisers held another council. They gave up the Pope, and proposed certain Universities. "Do not retract the liberty you have before conceded to us," said Luther. "We cannot yield this point," replied they.—"Then," exclaimed Luther, "I will take no part in the discussion."*

Again, the parties separated, and throughout the city the affair was a subject of conversation.—"Luther will not accept the challenge," said the Romanists . . . "He will not acknowledge any judge!" His words are commented on and misconstrued, and endeavours are made to represent them in the most unfavourable colours.—"What, is it true that he declines the discussion?" said the warmest friends of the Reformer. They flock around him and give expression to their misgivings—"You decline the discussion!" said they, "your refusal will bring lasting shame on your University, and on the cause you have taken in hand."

It was assailing him on his weak side, "Well then," said he, indignantly, "I accept the conditions proposed;—but I reserve to myself the right of appeal, and decline the jurisdiction of Rome."†

The 27th of June was the day fixed for the opening of the discussion. Early in the morning a meeting took place in the great college of the University, and from thence the train walked in procession to the church of St. Thomas, where a solemn mass was performed by order, and at the expense, of the Duke. After the service the

* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 245. † Ibid. p. 246.

parties present repaired in procession to the ducal castle. In front, walked Duke George and the Duke of Pomerania; then came counts, barons, knights, and other persons of rank, and lastly, the doctors, of both sides. A guard, consisting of seventy-three citizens, armed with halberds, accompanied the march, with banners flying, and martial music, halting at the castle-gates.

The procession having reached the palace, each took his seat in the hall, where the discussion was to take place. Duke George, the hereditary Prince John, Prince George of Anhalt, then twelve years of age, and the Duke of Pomerania, occupied the seats assigned them.

Mosellanus ascended the pulpit, to remind the theologians, by the Duke's order, in what manner they were to dispute. "If you fall to quarrelling," said the speaker, "what difference will remain between a theologian in discussion and a shameless duellist? In this question what is victory, but the recovery of a brother from error? It seems as if each of you should be more desirous to be so conquered than to conquer!"

This address terminated, sacred music resounded in the halls of the Pleissenburg; the whole assembly fell upon their knees, and the ancient hymn of invocation to the Holy Spirit, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus;* was chaunted. Solemn moments in the history of the Reformation! Thrice was the invocation repeated, and whilst this impressive voice was heard around, the defenders of the ancient doctrine, and the champions of this new teaching, the churchmen

[*] Seckend. p. 209.

of the middle ages, and those who sought to restore the church of the apostles, humbly bowed their foreheads to the earth. The time-honoured bond of one communion still bound together all these different minds; the same prayer still proceeded from all these lips, as if *one heart* pronounced it.

These were the last moments of outward and lifeless unity: a new Oneness of the spirit and of life was commencing. The Holy Spirit was invoked upon the church, and was preparing to answer in the revival of Christianity.

The chaunting and prayer being concluded, all rose from their knees. The discussion was about to commence, but it being twelve o'clock, it was postponed till two in the afternoon.

The Duke assembled at his table the principal persons who intended to be present at the discussion. After the repast, they returned to the castle. The hall was filled with spectators. Discussions of this kind were the public meetings of that age. It was in such meetings that the men who represented the generation in which they lived agitated the questions which occupied the general mind. Soon the speakers took their places. That their appearance may be better conceived, we will give their portraits as traced by one of the most impartial witnesses of the encounter.

"Martin Luther is of middle size, and so thin, by reason of his continual studies, that one can almost count his bones. He is in the prime of life, and his voice is clear and sonorous. His knowledge and understanding of the Holy Scriptures are incomparable: the whole word of God is at his

fingers' ends.* Added to this, he has vast resources of argument and ideas. One might perhaps desire somewhat more judgment to arrange every thing in its right order. In conversation he is agreeable and obliging; in no respect stoical or proud; he accommodates himself to every one; his manner of speaking is pleasing, and full of joviality; he evinces much firmness, and has ever a contented expression of countenance, whatever may be the threats of his adversaries. So that one is constrained to believe that it is not without divine assistance that he does such great things. He is blamed, however, for being more severe in his reproofs than is becoming in a divine, especially when advancing novelties in religion."

"Carlstadt is smaller in stature: he has a dark and sun-burnt complexion; his voice is harsh; his memory less tenacious than that of Luther, and he is yet more warm in temper. Yet he possesses, though in a lower degree, the same qualities for which his friend is remarkable."

"Eck is tall and broad shouldered; his voice is strong and truly German. He has good lungs, so that he would be well heard in a theatre, and would even make a capital town-crier. His articulation is rather thick than clear. He has none of the grace so much commended by Fabius and Cicero. His mouth, eyes, and whole countenance give you the idea rather of soldier, or a butcher, than of a

* Seine Gelehrsamkeit aber und Verstand in heiliger Schrift ist unvergleichlich, so dass er fast alles im Griff hat. (Mosellanus in Seckend. 206.)

divine.* His memory is wonderful, and if his understanding were equal to it, he would be a truly perfect man. But his comprehension is slow, and he wants that judgment, without which all other gifts are useless. Hence, in disputing, he produces a mass of passages from the Bible, citations from the Fathers, and different kinds of proof, without careful selection or discernment. Add to this, his effrontery is almost inconceivable. If he is embarrassed he breaks off from the subject in hand, plunges into another, sometimes even takes up the opinion of his antagonist under a different form of expression, and with wonderful address attributes to his opponent the very absurdity he himself was defending."

Such is the description given by Mosellanus of the men who then engaged the attention of the multitude who thronged the great hall of the Pleissenburg.

The discussion was opened by Eck and Carlstadt.

Eck's eyes rested for an instant on some articles that lay on the desk of his adversary's pulpit, and which seemed to offend his eye. These were the Bible and the Fathers. "I object to entering upon the discussion," exclaimed he on a sudden, "if you are permitted to bring your books with you." Strange that a theologian should have recourse to books in order to dispute. Eck's surprise ought to have been yet more surprising. "All this is but a

* Das Maul, Augen und ganze Gesicht, 'presentirt ehe einen Fleischer oder Soldaten, als einen Theologum. (Ibid.)

fig-leaf by which this Adam seeks to hide his shame," said Luther. "Did not Augustine consult books when he contended against the Manicheans?"* It mattered not! the partisans of Eck were loud in their clamours. Mutual imputations were thrown out. "The man has no memory," said Eck. Finally, it was arranged, according to the wish of the Chancellor of Ingolstadt, that each party should be restricted to the use of his memory and of his tongue. "Thus, then," said many, "in this disputation the point at issue will not be the inquiry after truth, but what praise is to be assigned to the speech and memory of the disputants."

It being impossible to relate, at length, the course of a discussion which lasted seventeen days, we must, to borrow the expression of an historian, imitate painters, who, in representing a battle, give prominence to the more memorable actions, leaving the rest in the back ground.†

The subject in dispute, between Eck and Carlstadt, was an important one. "Man's will, previous to his conversion," said Carlstadt, "can do no good work. Every good work proceeds entirely and exclusively from God, who gives to man first the will and afterwards the power to perform it." This truth had been proclaimed by Holy Scripture, in the words—*It is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure*,‡ and by Saint Augustine, who, in disputing with the Pelagians, had expressed it almost in the same words. Every

* Prætexit tamen et hic Adam ille folium fici pulcherrimum. (L. Epp. i. p. 294.)

† Pallavicini, i. 65. ‡ Philippians ii. 13.

action which is wanting in love to God, and obedience to Him, is in His sight destitute of that which can alone render it good; even though in other respects flowing from the noblest of human motives. But there is in man a natural opposition to the will of God. He has not in himself the strength to overcome this. He has neither the power nor the will to do so. This then must be the work of divine power.

This is the doctrine so cried down by the world, and which is yet so simple; the doctrine of Free-will. But the scholastic divines had expounded it so as scarcely to be recognised. Doubtless, said they, the will of man in a state of nature can do nothing truly acceptable to God; but it can do much to render him more capable of receiving the grace of God, and more meet to obtain it. They called these preparations a merit of congruity;* "because it was congruous," says Thomas Aquinas, "that God should treat with special favour the man who makes a right use of his own will." And as to the conversion which must be wrought in man, doubtless it was the grace of God, which, as the scholastic divines taught, must effect it; but without excluding natural powers. These powers, said they, have not been destroyed by sin:—sin but interposes an obstacle to their development; but when this impediment is removed, and that, said they, it is the office of the Spirit of God to accomplish, the action of these powers is restored. To make use of their favourite illustra-

* Meritum congruum.

tion, the bird that has been long confined, has, in this condition, neither lost its strength nor forgotten how to fly; but a friendly hand is needed to loose its fetters before it can again rise on the wing. Such, said they, is the condition of man.*

This was the subject of dispute between Eck and Carlstadt. Eck had at first seemed entirely opposed to Carlstadt's propositions on this subject; but finding it difficult to maintain the position he had chosen, he said, "I grant that our will has not power to do a good act, and that it receives power from God." "Do you then acknowledge," asked Carlstadt, overjoyed at having won such a concession, "that a good work comes entirely of God." "The *whole* good work comes truly from God," replied the subtle Eck, "but not *entirely*." "That is a discovery most worthy of theological learning," cried Melancthon. "An entire apple," pursued Eck, "is produced by the sun, but not by one effect, and without the co-operation of the plant."† Doubtless no one ever maintained that an apple was altogether the product of the sun.

Well, then, said the opposing parties, going deeper into this question, at once so delicate and so important in philosophy and religion, let us then inquire how God acts on man, and how man concurs with this action. "I acknowledge," said Eck, "that the first thought leading to the conversion of

* Planck, i. p. 176.

† Quanquam totum opus Dei sit, non tamen *totaliter* a Deo esse, quemadmodum totum pomum efficitur a sole, sed non a sole *totaliter* et sine plantæ efficentiâ. (Pallavicini, t. i. p. 58.)

a man comes from God, and that man's will is in this entirely passive."* So far the two antagonists were agreed. "I acknowledge," said Carlstadt, "on my side, that after this first act, which proceeds from God, something is requisite on the part of man which St. Paul calls *will*, which the Fathers term *consent*." Here again both agreed;—but from this point they diverged. "This consent on the part of man," said Eck, "comes partly from our natural will, partly from God's grace to us."† "No," said Carlstadt, "it is requisite that God should entirely create this will in man."‡ Hereupon Eck began to manifest surprise and anger at words so well adapted to make man sensible of his own nothingness. "Your doctrine," said he, "regards man as a stone, a log, incapable of reciprocal action." "What!" answered the Reformers, "does not the capacity for receiving the strength that God produces in him,—a capacity which, according to us, man possesses,—sufficiently distinguish him from a stone, or a log of wood?" "But," replied their antagonist, "you take a position that directly contradicts experience, when you refuse to acknowledge any natural ability in man." "We do not deny," replied the others, "that man possesses certain powers and ability to reflect, meditate, and choose; only we count such powers as mere instruments which can do no good thing until the hand of God

* Motionem seu inspirationem prevenientem esse a solo Deo; et ibi liberum arbitrium habet se passive.

† Partim a Deo, partim a libero arbitrio.

‡ Consentit homo, sed consensus est donum Dei.—Consentire non est agere.

has moved them; they are like to a saw that a man holds in his hands."*

The great question of Free-will was here discussed; and it was easy to demonstrate that the doctrine of the Reformers did not take away from man the liberty of a moral agent, and reduce him to a passive machine. The liberty of a moral agent consists in the power of acting conformably to his choice. Every action performed without external constraint, and in pursuance of the determination of the soul itself, is a free action. The soul is determined by motives; but we constantly see the same motives acting diversely on different minds. Many do not act conformably to the motives of which they yet acknowledge all the force. This failure of the motive proceeds from obstacles opposed by the corruption of the heart and understanding. But God, in giving "a new heart and a new spirit," takes away these obstacles; and in removing them, far from depriving man of liberty, he removes that which hindered him from acting freely, and from following the light of his conscience; and thus, as the Gospel expresses it, makes him free. (John viii. 36.)

A trivial incident interrupted the discussion. Carlstadt, as Eck relates,† had prepared certain arguments, and, like many preachers of our own day, he was reading what he had written. Eck saw in this mere college tactics; he objected to it. Carlstadt, embarrassed, and fearing he should not get on well without his paper, persisted. "Ah!" exclaimed

* Ut serra in manu hominis trahentis.

† Seckendorf, p. 192.

the doctor of the schools, proud of the advantage he thought he had obtained, "he has not quite so good a memory as I have." The point was referred to arbitrators, who permitted the reading of passages of the Fathers, but came to the resolution that with that exception the discussion should be extempore.

This first stage of the dispute was often interrupted by the spectators. Much agitation and even audible expressions of feeling broke forth. Any proposition that did not find favour with the majority excited instant clamours, and then it was necessary to enjoin silence. The disputants themselves were sometimes carried away by the eagerness of dispute.

Close to Luther stood Melancthon, who was almost in an equal degree an object of curiosity. He was of small stature, and would have passed as not above eighteen years of age. Luther, who was a head taller, seemed connected with him in the closest friendship: they came in and went out together. "To look at Melancthon," said a Swiss divine* who studied at Wittemberg, "one would say he was but a youth; but in understanding, learning, and talent, he is a giant; and one wonders how such heights of wisdom and genius can be contained within so slight a frame." Between the sittings, Melancthon conversed with Carlstadt and Luther. He aided them in their preparation for the discussion, and suggested the arguments that his vast learning enabled him to contribute; but while the discussion was going on, he remained

* John Kessler, afterwards Reformer at St. Gall.

quietly seated among the spectators, listening with attention to the words of the speakers.* At times, however, he came to the assistance of Carlstadt. Whenever the latter was near giving way under the declamation of the Chancellor of Ingolstadt, the young professor would whisper a word, or hand him a slip of paper whereon he had noted down a reply. Eck having on one occasion perceived this, and indignant that the grammarian, as he termed him, should dare to meddle in the discussion, turned round and said insolently; "Be silent, Philip, mind your studies, and do not stand in my way."† Eck may perhaps have even then foreseen how formidable an opponent he would one day find in this youth. Luther was roused by this rude insult directed against his friend. "The judgment of Philip," said he, "has greater weight with me than a thousand Dr. Ecks."

The calm Melancthon easily detected the weak points of the discussion. "One cannot help feeling astonished," said he, with that prudence and gracious spirit which we recognise in all his words, "when we think on the violence with which these subjects were treated. How could any expect to derive instruction from it? The Spirit of God loves retirement and silence; it is there he penetrates into our hearts. The bride of Christ does not take her stand in the streets and cross-ways, but she leads her spouse into the house of her mother."

* Lipsicæ pugnæ ociosus spectator in reliquo vulgo sedi. (Corpus Reformatorum, i. 111.)

† Tace tu, Philippe, ac tua studia cura, ne me perturba. (Ibid. i. 149.) ‡ Melancth. Opp. p. 134.

Each party claimed the victory. Eck resorted to every artifice to appear victorious. As the lines of divergence ran closely together, it often happened that he exclaimed that he had reduced his adversary to his opinion; or else, like another Proteus, said Luther, he turned suddenly round, put forth Carlstadt's opinion differently expressed, and triumphantly demanded if he could refuse to acknowledge it. And the uninitiated, who had not watched the manœuvre of the sophist, began to applaud and exult with him. Nevertheless, Eck, without perceiving it, in reality gave up in the course of the discussion much more than he had intended. His partisans laughed immoderately at his successive devices; "but," said Luther, "I am much inclined to think that their laughter was affected, and that they were actually on thorns, when they saw their chief, who had commenced the battle with bravados, abandon his standard, leave his own ranks, and act the part of a shameless deserter."*

Three or four days after the opening of the conference, it had been interrupted on account of the festival of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

The Duke of Pomerania requested Luther to preach on the occasion in his chapel. Luther gladly consented. But the chapel was early thronged, and the crowds of hearers increasing, the assembly adjourned to the great hall of the castle where the conference had been carried on. Luther took his text from the gospel of the day, and preached on the grace of God and the authority of St. Peter. What he

* Relictis signis, desertorem exercitus et transfugam factum. (L. Epp. i. p. 265.)

was accustomed to maintain before a learned auditory, he then declared to the people:—Christianity brings the light of truth to the humblest as well as the most intelligent minds. It is this which distinguishes it from all other religions, and all systems of philosophy. The Leipsic divines, who had heard Luther's sermon, hastened to report to Eck the offensive expressions with which they had been scandalized. "You must answer him," cried they, "these specious errors must be publicly refuted." Eck desired nothing better. All the churches were at his service, and on four successive occasions he ascended the pulpit and inveighed against Luther and his sermon. Luther's friends were indignant. They demanded that the theologian of Wittemberg should in his turn be heard. But their demand was disregarded. The pulpits were open to the enemies of the gospel, and shut to those who proclaimed it. "I was silent," said Luther, "and was obliged to suffer myself to be attacked, insulted, and calumniated without even the power to excuse or defend myself."

It was not only the clergy who opposed the teachers of the evangelical doctrine; the burghers of Leipsic were in that of one mind with the clergy. A blind fanaticism rendered them the ready dupes of the falsehood and prejudice which were circulated abroad. The principal inhabitants abstained from visiting Luther or Carlstadt; and if they accidentally met in the street, they passed them without salutation. They misrepresented them to

* Mich verklagen, schelten und schmæhen . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 247.)

the Duke. On the other hand, they were in daily communication and interchange of visits with the doctor of Ingolstadt. To Luther they offered the disputant's customary present of wine. Beyond this, any who were favourably disposed toward him concealed their predilection from others: several, following the example of Nicodemus, came to him in the night or by stealth. Two individuals alone stood forward to their own honour, and publicly declared themselves his friends:—Doctor Auerbach, whom we have already seen at Augsburg, and Doctor Pistor the younger.

The greatest agitation prevailed in the city. The two parties resembled two hostile camps, and sometimes came to blows. Frequent quarrels took place in the inns between the Leipsic students and those of Wittemberg. It was currently asserted, even in the meetings of the clergy, that Luther carried about with him a devil enclosed in a small box. "I know not," said Eck spitefully, "whether the devil is in the box or under his frock—but sure I am he is in one or the other."

Several doctors of the opposing parties were lodged, during the progress of the disputation, in the house of the printer Herbipolis. Their contentions ran so high, that their host was obliged to place a police sergeant, armed with a halberd, at the head of the table, with instructions to preserve the peace. One day Baumgarten, a vendor of indulgences, came to blows with a gentleman attached to Luther, and in the violence of his fit of passion, burst a blood-vessel and expired. "I myself," says Fröschel, who relates the fact,* "was one of

* Löscher, iii, 278.

those who carried him to the grave." In such results the general ferment in men's minds manifested itself. Then, as in our days, the speeches in the assemblies found an echo in the dinner-room and public streets.

Duke George, though strongly biassed in favour of Eck, did not evince so much zeal in his cause as his subjects. He invited all three, Eck, Luther, and Carlstadt to dinner. He even requested Luther to visit him in private; but soon manifested the prejudices that had been artfully inculcated. "Your tract on the Lord's Prayer," said the Duke, "has misled the consciences of many. There are some who complain that for four days together they have not been able to say one *pater*."

It was on the 4th of July that the contest commenced between Eck and Luther. Everything announced that it would be more violent and decisive than that which had just terminated. The two disputants were advancing to the arena, firmly resolved not to lay down their arms till victory should have declared in favour of one or the other. General attention was alive, for the subject of dispute was the Pope's primacy. Two prominent hindrances obstruct the progress of the Gospel, the hierarchy and rationalism. Rationalism, as applied to the doctrine of man's moral powers, had been the object of attack in the early part of the discussion. The hierarchy, viewed in what was at once its basis as well as climax—the doctrine of the Pope's authority—was now to be impugned. On the one side appeared Eck, the defender of the established teaching, and, like some boastful soldier, strong in confi-

dence derived from previous triumphs.* On the other side came Luther, to whom the contest seemed to promise nothing but persecutions and ignominy, but who presented himself with a clear conscience, a firm determination to sacrifice every thing to the cause of truth, and a hope full of faith in God's power to deliver him.

At seven in the morning the two disputants had taken their places, encompassed by an attentive and numerous auditory.

Luther stood up, and adopting a necessary precaution, said, with humility:

"In the name of the Lord—Amen. I declare that the respect I have for the Sovereign Pontiff would have prevented my sustaining the part I am taking in this discussion, had not the worthy Doctor Eck persuaded me thereto."

Eck. "In thy name, blessed Jesus! Before I enter on this discussion, I protest in your presence, noble chiefs, that all I shall say is subject to the judgment of the first of all episcopal chairs, and to the master who fills it."

After a moment's silence, Eck continued:

"There is in God's Church a *primacy* derived from Christ himself. The Church militant has been set up in the likeness of the Church triumphant. But this latter is a monarchy, wherein every thing ascends hierarchically to its sole head—God himself. Therefore it is that Christ has esta-

* Faciebat hoc Eccius quia certam sibi gloriam propositam cernebat, propter propositionem meam, in qua negabam Papam esse jure divino caput Ecclesiæ: hic patuit ei campus magnus. (L. Opp in præf.)

blished a similar order upon earth. How monstrous would the Church be without a head."*

LUTHER, turning to the assembly,

"When the doctor declares that it is most needful that the Church universal have a Head, he says well. If there be any one among us who affirms the contrary, let him stand forth. I hold no such thing."

ECK. "If the Church militant has never been without its one Head, I would beg to ask who he can be, but the Roman Pontiff?"

LUTHER, raising his eyes to heaven,

"The Head of the Church militant is Christ himself, and not a mortal man. I believe this, on the authority of God's testimony, whose word says, He must reign until his enemies be put under his feet.† Let us then no longer give ear to those who put away Christ to the Church triumphant in heaven. His kingdom is a kingdom of faith. We *see not* our Head, and yet we are joined to him."‡

ECK, not discomfitted, and turning to other arguments, resumed:

"It is from Rome, as St. Cyprian tells us, that sacerdotal unity proceeded."§

LUTHER "As regards the Western Church, agreed. But is not this Roman Church herself

* Nam quod monstrum esset, Ecclesiam esse acephalam! (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 243.)

† 1 Cor. xv. 25.

‡ *Prorsus audiendi non sunt qui Christum extra Ecclesiam militantem tendunt in triumphantem, cum sit regnum fidei. Caput nostrum non videmus; tamen habemus.* (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 243.)

§ Unde sacerdotalis unitas exorta est. (Ibid. 243.)

derived from that of Jerusalem? And to speak correctly, the church of Jerusalem was mother and nurse of all the churches."*

Eck. "St. Jerome affirms, that if authority above that of all other churches is not lodged with the Pope, there will be in the Church as many schisms are there are bishops."†

Luther. "I admit it,‡ that is to say, that if all the faithful were consenting, this authority might, agreeably to the principles of human legislation, be rightfully ascribed to the chief Pontiff. Neither would I deny that if the whole body of believers should consent to acknowledge as first and chief bishop—the bishop of Rome, or of Paris, or of Magdeburg, it would be our duty to acknowledge him as such,—from respect to this general consent of the whole church: but that is what the world has never seen nor ever will see. Even in our own day, does not the Greek church withhold her consent to Rome?"

Luther was at this time quite prepared to acknowledge the Pope as chief magistrate of the Church,—freely chosen by it; but he denied his divine right. It was not until a later period that he denied that any submission was due to him. That was an advance to which the Leipsic controversy mainly contributed. But Eck was on ground which Luther knew better than he. As Eck ap-

* Hæc est matrix proprie omnium ecclesiarum. (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 244.)

† Cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas. (Ibid. 243.)

‡ *Detur*, inquit, hoc est jure humano, posse fieri, consentientibus cæteris omnibus fidelibus. (Ibid. 244.)

pealed to the authority of the Fathers, Luther resolved to defeat him by the Fathers themselves.

"That my construction of the words," said he, "is truly what St. Jerome intended, I will prove by his own epistle to Evagrius. Every bishop, says he, whether of Rome or of Eugubium, whether of Constance or of Regium, whether of Alexandria or of Thanis, has the same honour and the same priestly rank.* The influence of wealth, or the humility of poverty alone, makes their difference of standing."

From the Fathers Luther passed to the decrees of the Councils, which recognize in the bishop of Rome only the first among his peers.† "We read," said he, "in the decree of the Council of Africa, 'Let not the bishop of the chief see be called Prince of the Pontiffs, or Sovereign Pontiff, or any other name of that sort, but simply bishop of the first see.' If the monarchy of the bishop of Rome were of divine right," continued Luther, "would not this decision be heretical?"

Eck met this by one of the subtle distinctions to which he was so accustomed to have recourse.

"The bishop of Rome, if you please, is not universal bishop, but bishop of the church universal."‡

Luther. "I will not say one word on that answer. Let our hearers themselves judge concerning it."

"Certainly," he afterwards observed, "that was a gloss worthy of a theologian, and just of a kind to

* Ejusdem meriti et ejusdem sacerdotii est. (Ibid.)

† Primus inter pares.

‡ Non episcopus universalis, sed universalis Ecclesiæ Episcopus. (Ibid. 246.)

content a disputant eager for triumph. I have not remained at Leipsic, at considerable cost to no purpose, since I have learned that the Pope of a truth is not universal bishop, but bishop of the church universal!"*

Eck. "Well, to come to the point. The venerable doctor requires from me a proof that the primacy of the church of Rome is of divine right; I find that proof in the words of Christ—'*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.*' St. Augustine, in one of his epistles, has thus explained the meaning of the passage—'Thou art Peter, and on this rock, that is to say, on Peter, I will build my church.' It is true, that Augustine has elsewhere said, that by this rock we must understand Christ himself, but he has not retracted his first explanation."

Luther. "If the reverend doctor brings against me these words of St. Augustine, let him himself first reconcile such opposite assertions. For certain it is, that St. Augustine has repeatedly said, that the rock was Christ, and hardly once that it was Peter himself. But even though St. Augustine and *all* the Fathers should say that the Apostle is the rock of which Christ spake, I would, if I should stand alone, deny the assertion—supported by the authority of the Holy Scripture—in other words by divine right†—for it is written, *Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, even Christ Jesus.*‡ Peter himself calls Christ *the chief corner-stone, and*

* Ego gloriar me tot expensis non frustra . . (L. Opp. i. 299.)

† Resistam eis ego unus, auctoritate Apostoli id est, divino jure. (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 237.)

‡ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

living rock, on which we are built up a spiritual house."*

Eck. "I am astonished at the humility and diffidence with which the reverend doctor undertakes to stand alone against so many illustrious Fathers, thus affirming that he knows more of these things than the Sovereign Pontiff, the Councils, divines, and universities! . . . . It would no doubt be very wonderful if God had hidden the truth from so many saints and martyrs till the advent of the reverend father."

Luther. "The Fathers are not opposed to me.—St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the most eminent divines say as I do. *On that confession of faith the church is built*, says St. Ambrose,† explaining what is to be understood by the stone on which the church rests. Let my antagonist then restrain his speech. Such expressions as he has just used do but stir up animosity, instead of helping in learned discussion."

Eck had not expected so much learning in his adversary, and managed to extricate himself from the labyrinth in which he had endeavoured to entangle him. "The reverend father," said he, "has entered on this discussion after well preparing his subject. Your excellencies will excuse me if I should not produce so much exact research. I came hither to discuss, and not to make a book." Eck was in some sort taken by surprise, but not defeated. Having no other argument at hand, he had recourse to an odious and contemptible artifice, which, if it did not bear down, must at least greatly

* 1 Peter ii. 4, 5.

† The Church is built upon that Confession of faith. (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 254.)

embarrass his adversary. If the suspicion of being a Bohemian, a heretic, a Hussite, do but hang over Luther, he is vanquished; for the Bohemians were detested in the church. The doctor of Ingolstadt adopted this stratagem. "From primitive times," said he, "it has been ever acknowledged, that the Church of Rome derives her primacy from Christ himself, and not from human law. I must admit, however, that the Bohemians in their obstinate defence of their errors have attacked this doctrine. I ask the reverend father's pardon if I am opposed to the Bohemians on account of their opposition to the Church; and if the present discussion has recalled those heretics to my recollection; for . . . . according to my humble judgment . . . . the inferences the doctor has drawn are entirely favourable to their errors; and, it is said, they boast of this."*

Eck had rightly calculated the effect. All his partisans loudly applauded the artful insinuation, and an exultation was manifest in the auditory. "These insults," said the Reformers at a subsequent period, "pleased their fancy much more than the progress of the discussion."

Luther. "I neither love, nor ever shall love, a schism. Since on their own authority the Bohemians have separated from unity with us, they are in the wrong; even though divine right should be in favour of the doctrine: for the highest divine right is love and the unity of the Spirit."†

* Et, ut fama est, de hoc plurimum gratulantur. (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 250.)

† Nunquam mihi placuit, nec in æternum placebit quodcumque schisma . . . Cum supremum jus divinum sit Charitas et Unitas Spiritus. (Ibid. p. 250.)

It was on the 5th of July, in the morning sitting, that Luther uttered these words. The meeting shortly after broke up, the dinner hour having arrived. It is likely that some one of the friends, or perhaps of the enemies of the doctor, drew his thoughts to the fact that he had gone very far in thus condemning the Christians of Bohemia. Had they not in reality stood for those doctrines that Luther was then maintaining? Hence it was, when the assembly were again together at two in the afternoon, Luther broke silence, and said courageously:—"Among the articles of John Huss and the Bohemians, there are some that are most agreeable to Christ. This is certain; and of this sort is that article: 'There is only One church universal:' and again: 'That it is not necessary to salvation that we should believe the Roman church superior to others.'—It matters little to me whether Wiclif or Huss said it. It is Truth."

This declaration of Luther produced an immense sensation on the auditory. *Huss, Wiclif*, names held in abhorrence, pronounced with respect by a monk, in the midst of a Catholic assembly! . . . An almost general murmur ran round the hall. Duke George himself was alarmed. He foresaw for Saxony the unfurling of the standard of that civil discord which had ravaged the states of his maternal ancestors. Not able to suppress his feelings, he broke forth in a loud exclamation, in the hearing of all the assembly: "He is mad."* Then, shaking his head, he rested his hands on his sides. The whole assembly was in high excitement. Those who were seated rose from their seats, conversing in groups.

* Das walt die Sucht!

The drowsy were aroused: the enemies of Luther exulted; and his friends were greatly perplexed. Several, who till then had listened to him with satisfaction, began to doubt his orthodoxy. The effect of this speech was never effaced from the mind of Duke George: from that hour he looked with an evil eye on the Reformer, and became his enemy.*

As to Luther, he did not give way to this burst of murmurs. "Gregory Nazianzen," continued he, with noble calmness, "Basil the great, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and a great many other Greek bishops, are saved; and yet they never believed that the Church of Rome was superior to other churches. It does not belong to the Roman pontiffs to add new articles of faith. There is no authority for the believing Christian but the Holy Scripture. It, alone, is of divine right. I beg the worthy doctor Eck to grant me that the Roman pontiffs have been men, and not to speak of them as if they were Gods."†

Eck here resorted to one of those pleasantries which give an easy advantage, in appearance, to him who uses them.

"The reverend father, who is not skilful in his cookery," said he, "has just made a very bad hash of heretics and Greek saints; so that the odour of sanctity of the one, hides the taste of poison in the others."‡

* Nam adhuc erat dux Georgius mihi non inimicus, quod sciebam certo. (L. Opp. in præf.)

† Nec potest fidelis Christianus cogi ultra sacram Scripturam, quæ est proprie jus divinum. (L. Opp. lat. i. 252.)

‡ At Rev. Pater *artis coquinariæ* minus instructus, commiscet sanctos græcos cum schismaticis et hereticis, ut fuco sanctitatis Patrum, hæreticorum tueatur perfidiam. (Ibid. 252.)

Luther, interrupting Eck with spirit—"The worthy doctor speaks with effrontery. In my judgment, Christ can have no concord with Belial."

Such were the discussions which gave employment to the two doctors. The assembly were attentive. The interest at times flagged, however, and the hearers were not displeased when any incident occurred, to enliven them by some distraction. It often happens, that events of the greatest importance are in this way broken in upon by comic accidents. Something of this sort took place at Leipsic.

Duke George, following the custom of the age, kept a court fool. Some wags said to him, "Luther is contending that a court fool may get married, Eck maintains the contrary opinion." Hereupon the fool conceived great aversion for Eck, and every time he came into the hall in the Duke's suite, he eyed the theologian with threatening looks. One day, the chancellor of Ingolstadt, descending to buffoonery, shut one eye, (the fool was blind of one eye) and with the other looked askance at the dwarf. The latter, no longer able to control himself, poured forth a torrent of abuse on the learned doctor. The whole assembly, says Peifer, gave way to laughter, and this incident lessened in some degree the extreme tension of their minds.*

During this time the city was the scene of events which shewed the horror with which the bold assertions of Luther inspired the partisans of Rome. The loudest clamours proceeded from the convents in the Pope's interest. One Sunday the doctor of Wittemberg entered the church of the

* L. Opp. W. xv. 1440.—2 Löscher, iii. p. 281.

Dominicans just before high mass. There were present only a few monks, who were going through the earlier masses at lower altars. As soon as it was known in the cloister that the heretic Luther was in the church, the monks ran together in haste, caught up the *remonstrance*, and taking it to its receptacle, carefully shut it up, lest the holy sacrament should be profaned by the impure eyes of the Augustine of Wittemberg. While this was doing, they who were reading mass collected together the sacred furniture, quitted the altar, crossed the church, and sought refuge in the sacristy, as if, says an historian, the devil himself had been behind them.

Everywhere the discussions furnished subject of conversation. In the lodging-houses, at the university, at the court, each one gave his opinion. Duke George, with all his irritation, did not pertinaciously refuse to allow himself to be convinced. One day, when Eck and Luther were dining with him, he interrupted their conversation, by the remark: "Whether the Pope be by divine right, or human right, it is at any rate a fact that he is Pope."* Luther was quite pleased with these words. "The prince," said he, "would never have given utterance to them if my arguments had not impressed him."

The dispute on the Pope's primacy had lasted five days. On the 8th of July they came to the subject of Purgatory. The discussion lasted rather more

* Ita ut ipse dux Georgius inter prandendum ad Eccium et me dicat: "Sive sit jure humano, sive sitjure divino, papa; ipse est papa." (L. Opp. in præf.)

than two days. Luther at this time admitted the existence of purgatory; but he denied that this doctrine was taught in Scripture, and by the Fathers in the way the scholastic divines and his adversary asserted. "Our doctor Eck," said he, alluding to the superficial character of his opponent, "has to-day run over Scripture almost without touching it, as a spider runs upon the water."

On the 11th of July the disputants arrived at the Indulgences. "It was no better than play, a mere joke," said Luther. "The indulgences fell with scarce the shadow of defence. Eck agreed with me in almost every thing."* Eck himself observed, "If I had not met Doctor Martin on the question of the Pope's primacy, I could almost come to agreement with him."†

The discussion afterwards turned on Repentance, the Priest's absolution, and Satisfactions. Eck, as his practice was, quoted the scholastic divines, the Dominicans, and the Pope's canons. Luther closed the discussion by these words:—

"The reverend doctor avoids the Holy Scriptures, as the devil flees from before the cross. For my part, saving the respect due to the Fathers, I prefer the authority of the word of God; and it is *that* which I would press upon our judges."‡

Thus ended the dispute between Eck and Luther. Carlstadt and the doctor of Ingolstadt

* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 246.

† So wollt'er fast einig mit mir gewest seyn. (Ibid.)

‡ Videtur fugere a facie Scripturarum, sicut diabolus crucem. Quare, salvis reverentiis Patrum, præfero ego auctoritatem Scripturæ, quod commendo judicibus futuris. (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 291.)

continued for two days to discuss the merits of man in good works. On the 16th of July the affair was terminated, after having lasted twenty days, by a sermon from the Superior of Leipsic. As soon as this was over, a band of music was heard, and the solemnity was closed by the *Te Deum*.

But during this solemn chaunt, men's minds were no longer as they were when the hymn *Veni Spiritus* had been sung. Already the presentiments of some appeared realized. The arguments of the two opposing champions had inflicted an open wound on the Papacy.

These theological discussions, which in our days would excite little attention, had been followed and listened to with interest for twenty days, by laymen, knights, and princes. Duke Barnim of Pomerania, and Duke George were constant in attendance. "But on the other hand," says an eye-witness, "some Leipsic divines, friends of Eck, slept soundly much of the time, and it was even necessary to wake them at the close of the discussion, lest they should lose their dinner."

Luther was the first who quitted Leipsic. Carlstadt set out soon after. Eck remained a few days after their departure.

No decision was made known on the matters discussed.* Each one commented on them as he pleased. "There has been at Leipsic," said Luther, "loss of time, not search after truth. For these two years past that we have been examining the doctrines of the adversaries, we have counted

* Ad exitum certaminis, uti solet, nulla prodiit decisio. (Pallavicini, i. 65.)

all their bones. Eck, on the contrary, has hardly grazed the surface,* yet he has made more outcry in one hour, than we in two long years."

Eck, in private letters to his friends, acknowledged his having been defeated on many points; but he was at no loss for reasons to account for it.† "The Wittemberg divines," said he, in a letter to Hochstraten, dated the 24th July, "have had the best of the argument on certain points, first, because they brought with them their books; secondly, because their friends took notes of the discussion, which they could examine at home at leisure; thirdly, because they were several in number:—two doctors (Carlstadt and Luther), Lange, vicar of the Augustines, two licentiates, Amsdorff, and a most arrogant nephew of Reuchlin (Melancthon), three doctors of law, and several masters of arts, all were assisting in the discussion, either publicly or in secret. As for myself, I came forward alone, having only right on my side."—Eck forgot Emser, the bishop, and all the doctors of Leipsic.

If such admissions were made by Eck in his confidential correspondence, it was quite otherwise in public. The doctor of Ingolstadt and the theologians of Leipsic, loudly boasted of "their victory." They spread everywhere false reports. The mouth-pieces of their party repeated their self-gratulations. "Eck," wrote Luther, "boasts in

* Totam istam conclusionum cohortem multo acrius et validius nostri Wittembergenses . . oppugnaverunt et ita examinaverunt ut ossa eorum numerare licuerit, quas Eccius vix in facie cutis leviter perstrinxit. (L. Epp. i. p. 291.)

† Verum in multis me obruerunt. (Corpus Reform. i. p. 83.)

all companies of his victory."* But the laurels were an object of contention in the camp of Rome. "If *we* had not come in aid of Eck," said his Leipsic allies, "the illustrious doctor would have been overthrown." "The divines of Leipsic are well-meaning people," said the doctor of Ingolstadt, "but I had formed too high expectations from them —I did all myself." "You see," said Luther to Spalatin, "that they are singing another Iliad and Æneid. They are so kind as to make me play the part of Hector or Turnus, whilst Eck is their Achilles or Eneas. Their only doubt is, whether the victory was gained by the forces of Eck or of Leipsic. All I can say, to throw light on the question, is, that doctor Eck clamoured continually, and the men of Leipsic kept continual silence."†

"Eck has obtained the victory, in the opinion of those who do not understand the question, and who have grown grey in scholastic studies," observed the elegant, witty, and judicious Mosellanus; "but Luther and Carlstadt remain masters of the field, in the judgment of those who have learning, intelligence, and modesty."‡

The dispute was, however, destined not to vanish in mere smoke. Every work done in faith bears fruit. The words of Luther had found their way, with irresistible power, to the minds of his hearers.

* Eccius triumphat ubique. (L. Epp. i. 290.)

† Novam quamdam Iliada et Æneida illos cantare . . . (L. Epp. i. p. 305.)

‡ Lutheri Sieg sey um so viel weniger berühmt, weil der Gelehrten, Verstandigen, und derer die sich selbst nicht hoch rühmen, wenig seyen. (Seckendorf, 207.)

Several, who had regularly attended in the hall of the castle, were brought under the truth. It was especially in the very midst of its most active enemies, that its conquests were achieved. Poliander, secretary to Eck and his intimate friend and disciple, was gained to the cause of the Reformation; and as early as the year 1522, he preached the gospel publicly at Leipsic. John Cellarius, professor of Hebrew, one of the warmest opponents of the Reformation, struck by the words of the mighty doctor, began to search the Scriptures more deeply. Shortly after, he gave up his place; and, full of humility, came to Wittemberg, to study at the feet of Luther. He was subsequently pastor at Frankfort and at Dresden.

Among those who sat on the benches reserved for the court, and who surrounded Duke George, was George of Anhalt, a young prince of twelve years, descended from a family celebrated for their bravery against the Saracens. He was then prosecuting his studies under a private tutor. This illustrious youth was early distinguished for his eager desire of knowledge and love of truth. Often he was heard to repeat the proverb of Solomon, "Lying lips do not become a prince." The discussion at Leipsic awakened in this child serious reflections, and a decided partiality for Luther.* Shortly after, he was offered a bishopric. His brothers and all his relations urged him to accept it; desiring to see him rise to the higher dignities of the church. He was immoveable in his refusal. On the death of his

* L. Opp. (W.) xv. 1440.

pious mother, he found himself in possession of all the Reformer's writings. He put up constant and fervent prayers to God, beseeching him to bring his heart under the power of the truth; and often in the privacy of his cabinet, he exclaimed with tears, "Deal with thy servant according to thy mercy, and teach me thy statutes."* His prayers were answered. Under strong conviction, and constrained to action on it, he fearlessly ranged himself on the side of the gospel. In vain his tutors, and foremost among them Duke George, besieged him with entreaties and remonstrances. He continued inflexible; and George, half brought over by the answers of his pupil, exclaimed, "I am not able to answer him; but I will, nevertheless, continue in my church, for it is not possible to break an old dog." We shall again meet with this amiable prince; who was, indeed, one of the noble characters of the Reformation; who himself preached the word of life to his subjects: and to whom has been applied the saying of Dion Cassius on the emperor Marcus Antoninus, "In his whole life, he was consistent with himself; a good man without any guile."†

It was especially among the students that the words of Luther were received with enthusiasm. They felt the difference between the spirit and power of the Wittemberg doctor, and the sophistical distinctions and vain speculations of the chancellor

* ... A Deo petivit, flecti pectus suum ad veritatem, ac lacrymans sæpe hæc verba repetivit . . . (M. Adami, Vita Georgii Anhalt, p. 248.)

† "Ομοιος διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο ἀγαθος δὲ ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲν προσποίητον εἶχεν." Vid. Melch. Adam. p. 255.

of Ingolstadt. They saw Luther relying on the word of God. They saw doctor Eck taking his stand only on the traditions of men. The effect was instantaneous. The lecturing halls of the university of Leipsic were almost deserted after the disputation. A circumstance of the time contributed to this: the plague shewed itself. But there were several other universities, as Erfurdt or Ingolstadt, to which the students might have retired. The force of truth attracted them to Wittemberg. There the number of students was doubled.*

Among those who removed from the one university to the other, there was a young man of sixteen, of melancholy character, silent, and often lost in abstraction in the very midst of the conversation and amusements of his fellow-students.† His parents had thought him of weak intellect, but ere long they found him so quick in his learning, and so continually occupied in his studies, that they conceived great expectations of him. His uprightness, candour, diffidence, and piety, made him an object of general affection, and Mosellanus pointed to him as a pattern to the whole university. His name was Gaspard Cruciger, and he was a native of Leipsic. The young student of Wittemberg was at a later period the friend of Melancthon, and fellow-labourer with Luther in the translation of the Bible.

The disputation at Leipsic had yet nobler results. It was there that the theologian of the Reformation received his call to the work. Modest and silent, Melancthon had been present at the discussion,

* Peifer Histor. Lipsiensis, 356.

† Et cogitabundus et sæpe in medios sodalitios quovis peregrinante animo. (Melch. Adami Vita Crucigeri, p. 193.)

taking scarcely any part in it. Hitherto he had applied himself only to literature. The conference communicated to him a new impulse, and launched the eloquent professor into theology. From that hour he bowed the heights of his learning before the word of God. He received the evangelic doctrine with the simplicity of a child. His auditors heard him explain the way of salvation with a grace and clearness which delighted every one. He advanced boldly in this path so new to him,—for, said he, "Christ will not be wanting to those who are his."* From this period, the two friends went forward together, contending for liberty and truth, the one with the energy of Paul, the other with the gentleness of John. Luther has well expressed the difference of their vocations. "I," says he, "was born for struggling on the field of battle with parties and devils. Thus it is that my writings breathe war and tempest. I must root up stock and stem, clear away thorns and brambles, and fill up swamps and sloughs. I am like the sturdy wood-cutter, who must clear and level the road. But our master of arts, Philip, goes forward quietly and gently, cultivating and planting, sowing and watering joyfully, according as God has dealt to him so liberally of his gifts."†

If Melancthon, the tranquil sower, was called to his work by the Leipsic discussion, Luther the sturdy wood-cutter, felt that it added strength to his arm, and his courage was proportionately exalted. The mightiest result of the discussion was indeed that which was wrought in Luther himself—"The

* Christus suis non deerit. (Corpus Reform. i. p. 104.)

† L. Opp. (W.) xv. 200.

scholastic theology," said he, "then crumbled into dust before me, under the boasted presidence of Doctor Eck." The covering, which the schools and the church had spread before the sanctuary, was rent from top to bottom. Driven to further investigation, he attained unexpected discoveries. With equal surprise and indignation, he beheld the evil in all its magnitude. Searching into the annals of the Church, he discovered that the supremacy of Rome had its origin in the ambition of one party and the credulous ignorance of another. Silence, as to these melancholy discoveries, was not permitted to him. The pride of his adversaries,—the victory they pretended to have gained,—their endeavours to put out the light decided his purpose. He went forward in the way wherein God led him, without disquieting himself as to the result to which it might lead him. Luther has marked this as the epoch of his enfranchisement from the papal yoke. "Learn of me," says he, "how hard it is to unlearn the errors which the whole world confirms by its example,* and which, by long use, have become to us as a second nature. I had for seven years read and publicly expounded the Scriptures with much zeal, so that I knew them almost all by heart.† I had also all the first-fruits of the knowledge and faith of my Lord Jesus Christ; that is, I knew that we are justified and saved, not by our works, but by faith in Christ; and I even openly maintained that it is not by divine right that the Pope is chief of the Christian church. And yet . .

* Quam difficile sit eluctari et emergere ex erroribus, totius orbis exemplo firmatis . . . . (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

† Per septem annos, ita ut memoriter pene omnia tenerem . . . . (Ibid.)

I could not see the conclusion from all this, namely:—that of necessity and beyond doubt, the Pope is of the devil. For what is not of God, must needs be of the devil."* Luther adds further on—"I do not now give free utterance to my indignation against those who still adhere to the Pope, since I, who had for so many years read the Holy Scriptures with so much care, yet held to the Papacy with so much obstinacy."†

Such were the real results of the Leipsic discussion, and they were much more important than the discussion itself. They were like the first successes which discipline and inspirit an army.

Eck gave himself up to all the intoxication of what he had tried to represent as a victory. He circulated slanders against Luther. He heaped one imputation upon another.‡ He wrote to Frederic. He sought, like a skilful general, to profit by the confusion which ever follows a conflict, in order to obtain from the Prince some important concessions. Before taking measures against his adversary in person, he invoked the flames to consume his writings—even those which he had not read. He entreated the Elector to convoke the provincial council—"Let us," said the foul-mouthed Doctor, "exterminate all these vermin before they have multiplied beyond bounds."§

* Quod enim ex Deo non est, necesse est ex diabolo esse. (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

† Cum ego tot annis sacra legens diligentissime, tamen ita hæsi tenaciter. (Ibid.)

‡ Proscidit, post abitum nostrum, Martinum inhumanissime. (Melancthon Corp. Refor. i. 106.)

§ Ehe das Ungeziffer uberhand nehme. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 271.)

It was not against Luther alone that he poured out his wrath. His rashness called Melancthon into the lists. The latter, connected by the tenderest friendship with the worthy Œcolampadius, sent him an account of the discussion, speaking in terms of commendation of Dr. Eck.* Nevertheless, the pride of the chancellor of Ingolstadt was wounded. He instantly took pen in hand against "that grammarian of Wittemberg, who, to say the truth, is not unacquainted with Greek and Latin, but had dared to circulate a letter, wherein he had insulted him, Dr. Eck."†

Melancthon answered. This was his first theological writing. It is marked by the exquisite urbanity which distinguished this excellent man. After laying down the principles of hermeneutical science, he shews that we ought not to explain the Holy Scripture by the Fathers, but the Fathers by the Holy Scripture. "How often," says he, "has not Jerome been mistaken!—how often Augustine!—how often Ambrose! How often do we not find them differing in judgment—how often do we not hear them retracting their errors! There is but one Scripture divinely inspired and without mixture of error."‡

"Luther does not adhere to certain dubious expositions of the ancients, say his adversaries: and why should he adhere to them? In his explana-

* Eccius ob varias et insignes ingenii dotes . . . . (L. Opp. lat. i. p. 337.)

† Ausus est grammaticus Wittembergensis, Græce et Latine sane non indoctus, epistolam edere . . . . (Ibid. 338.)

‡ Una est Scriptura, cœlestis spiritus, pura, et per omnia verax. (Contra Eckium Defensio, Corp. Reform. i. p. 115.)

tion of the passage of St. Matthew, *Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church*, he says the very same thing as Origen, who in his account is a host, yea, the very thing that Augustine writes in his homily, and Ambrose in his sixth book on St. Luke, not to mention others. What then, you will say, can the Fathers contradict each other! And what is there so surprising in that?* I reverence the Fathers, because I believe the Holy Scripture. The sense of Scripture is one and simple, as heavenly truth itself. We enter into it by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and deduce it from the thread and connection of the whole.† There is a philosophy enjoined us with respect to the Scriptures given by God; it is to bring to them all the thoughts and maxims of men, as to the touch-stone by which these are to be tried."‡

For a long time no one had so elegantly set forth such powerful truths. The word of God was reinstated in its proper place, and the Fathers in theirs. The course by which the true sense of Scripture is obtained was plainly indicated. The preaching of the Gospel rose above the difficulties and glosses of the schools. Melancthon furnished a means, available for all times, of answering those, who, like Dr. Eck, would involve this subject in perplexities. The weak "grammarian" had arisen,

* Quid igitur? Ipsi secum pugnant! quid mirum? (Contra Eckium Defensio, Corp. Reform. i. p. 115.)

† Quem collatis Scripturis e filo ductuque orationis licet assequi. (Ibid. 114.)

‡ Ut hominum sententias, decretaque ad ipsas, ceu ad Lydium lapidem exigamus. (Ibid.)

and the broad and robust shoulders of the scholastic gladiator had yielded under the first movement of his arm.

The more Eck felt his weakness, the louder were his clamours. He thought by rhodomontade and accusations to secure the victory which his argument had failed to achieve. The monks and all the partisans of Rome re-echoed these clamours. From all parts of Germany reproaches were showered upon Luther; but he remained unmoved by them. "The more reproach is heaped upon me," said he, at the conclusion of some explanations which he published of the propositions of Leipsic, "the more do I glory in it. Truth, that is to say *Christ*, must increase, while I must decrease. The voice of the bridegroom and of the bride gives me a joy that is far above the fears their clamours cause me. It is not men that are opposing me, and I have no enmity against them; it is Satan the prince of evil, who is labouring to intimidate me. But he who is in us, is greater than he who is in the world. The opinion of this age is against us,—that of posterity will be more favourable."*

If the discussion of Leipsic multiplied the enemies of Luther in Germany, it augmented the number of his friends in distant parts. "That which Huss was formerly in Bohemia," wrote the Brethren to him from that country, "you Martin, are now in Saxony; therefore, continue in prayer, and be strong in the Lord."

About this time a rupture took place between

* Præsens male judicat ætas; judicium melius posteritatis erit. (L. Opp. Lat. i. 310.)

Luther and Emser, then professor at Leipsic. The latter wrote to Dr. Zack, a zealous Roman Catholic of Prague, a letter, *apparently* intended to remove from the Hussites the impression that Luther partook of their views. Luther could not doubt that the design of the Leipsic professor was, under the semblance of justifying him, to cause the suspicion to hang over him of adhering to the Bohemian heresy, and he resolved at once to rend asunder the veil with which his former guest at Dresden sought to cover his enmity. With this view he published a letter addressed "to the he-goat Emser." (The armorial bearing of Emser was a he-goat.) He concluded this writing with words which well express the writer's character,—"Love for all men, but fear of none!"*

While new friends and new enemies came forth, some earlier friends began to shew signs of estrangement from Luther. Staupitz, by whose means the Reformer had emerged from the obscurity of the cloister of Erfurth, began to evince some coldness towards him. Luther rose to an elevation of views, whither Staupitz was not able to follow him. "You abandon me," wrote Luther to him; "I have been all this day grieving like a weaned child.† I dreamed of you last night," continues the Reformer. "I thought you were taking leave of me, and I was weeping and sobbing bitterly; but I thought you put out your hand to me and bade me be tranquil, for you would return to me again."

* L. Opp. Lat. i. 252.

† Ego super te, sicut ablactatus super matre sua, tristissimus hac die fui. (L. Epp. i. p. 342.)

The peace-maker, Miltitz, resolved to make another effort to calm the minds of the disputants. But what influence could be had over men still agitated by the feeling of conflict. His endeavours were unavailing. He presented the famous Golden Rose to the Elector, and the prince did not give himself the trouble even to receive it in person.* Frederic well knew the artifices of Rome; it was useless, therefore, to think any longer of deceiving him.†

Far from giving ground, Luther continued to advance. It was at this time that he struck one of his heaviest blows against prevailing error, by publishing his first Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.‡ The second commentary undoubtedly surpassed the first; but even in this he set forth with great power the doctrine of justification by faith. Every word of the new apostle was full of life, and God made use of him as an instrument to introduce the knowledge of himself into the hearts of the people. "Christ has given *Himself* for our sins," said Luther to his contemporaries:§ "It is not silver or gold that he has given for us; it is not a man, it is not the host of angels; it is Himself, without whom nothing is great, that he has given. And this incomparable treasure he has given for our sins! Where now are those who proudly boast the power of our will?—where are

* Rosam quam vocant auream nullo honore dignatus est; imo pro ridiculo habuit. (L. Opp. lat. in præf.)

† Intellexit princeps artes Romanæ curiæ et eos (legatos) digne tractare novit. (Ibid.)

‡ September, 1519.

§ L. Opp. (L.) x. 461.

the precepts of moral philosophy? where the power and the obligation of the law? Since our sins are so great that nothing less than a ransom so stupendous could remove them, shall we still seek to attain unto righteousness by the strength of our will, by the force of law, by the doctrines of men? What use can we have of all these subtleties and delusions? Alas! they could but cover our iniquities with a cloak of lies, and make us hypocrites beyond the reach of salvation."

But while Luther proved that there is no salvation for man but in Christ; he shewed, also, that this salvation changes the heart of man, and makes him abound in good works. "He who has truly heard the word of Christ and keeps it is thenceforward clothed with the spirit of charity. If thou lovest him who hath made thee a present of twenty florins, or rendered thee any service, or testified in any other way his affection towards you, how much more shouldest thou love Him who hath given for thee, not gold or silver, but *himself;* who hath received for thee so many wounds; who hath undergone for thy sake an agony and sweat of blood; who in thy stead hath suffered death; in a word, who, in discharge of thy sins, hath swallowed up death, and acquired for thee a *Father* in heaven full of love! If thou dost *not* love him, thy heart hath not entered into or understood the things which he hath done; thou hast not believed them; for *faith* worketh by love."—"This epistle is *my* epistle," said Luther, speaking of the Epistle to the Galatians; "I have espoused it."

His adversaries did but hasten his progress.

Without them it would have been more gradual. Eck provoked against him at this period a new attack on the part of the Franciscans of Juterbok. Luther, in his answer,* not satisfied with repeating what he had already taught, attacked some errors which he had recently discovered: "I should be glad to be informed," said he, "where, in the Scripture, the power of canonizing saints has been given to the Popes; and also what necessity, what use there can be in canonizing them?" "For aught it matters," he added ironically, "let them go on canonizing to their heart's content."†

These new attacks of Luther remained unanswered. The infatuation of his enemies favoured him as much as his own courage. They contended, with much warmth and passion, for things that were at most but secondary and subordinate opinions; and when Luther assailed the very foundations of the Romish doctrine, they saw them struck without uttering a word. They exerted themselves to defend some advanced outworks at the very time that their intrepid adversary was penetrating into the citadel, and planting there the standard of the truth. Hence they were afterwards much astonished to see the fortress, of which they had constituted themselves the defenders, undermined, on fire, and sinking in the midst of the flames, while they thought it impregnable, and were braving the besiegers. It is the ordinary course in such catastrophes.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper began now to occupy the thoughts of Luther. He sought in

* Defensio contra malignum Eccii judicium. (I. lat. p. 356.)

† Canonizet quisque quantum volet. (Ibid. 367.)

vain to find this holy Supper in the *Mass*. One day (it was a short time after his return from Leipsic), he ascended the pulpit. Let us pay attention to his words, for they are the first he uttered on a subject which has since divided the Reformed Church into two parties: "There are three things," said he, "necessary to be understood in the holy sacrament of the altar: the sign, which must be external, visible, and under a corporeal form; the thing signified, which is internal, spiritual, and within the soul of man; and *Faith*, which uses both."* If definitions had been carried no further, the unity of the Church would not have been destroyed. Luther continued:

"It would be well if the Church, in a general council, would order the sacrament to be administered in 'both kinds' to all believers; not however that one kind would not be sufficient, for *Faith* of itself would suffice."

These bold words pleased his hearers. Some, however, were surprised, and angry. "It is false," said they; "it is a scandal."† The preacher continued:

"There is no union more intimate, more deep, more indivisible, than that which takes place between the food and the body which the food nourishes. Christ unites himself to us in the sacrament in such a manner, that he acts as if he were identical with us. Our *sins* assail *him*: his *righteousness* defends *us*."

But Luther was not satisfied with declaring the truth: he attacked one of the fundamental errors of

* L Opp. (L.) xvii. 272. † L. Opp. (L.) ibid. p. 281.

Rome.* The Romish Church pretends that the sacrament operates by itself, independently of the preparedness of the person who receives it. Nothing can be more convenient than such an opinion. Hence the ardour with which the sacrament is sought for, and hence come the profits of the Romish clergy. Luther attacked this doctrine,† and met it with its opposite,‡ which requires faith and consent of heart in him who receives it.

This energetic protest was calculated to overthrow the long established superstitions. But strange to say, no attention was paid to it. Rome passed unnoticed what one would have thought would have called forth a shriek, while she bore down haughtily on a remark Luther had let fall at the commencement of his discourse, on 'communion in both kinds.'

This discourse having been published in the month of December, a cry of heresy arose on all sides. "It is the doctrine of Prague to all intents and purposes!" was the exclamation at the court of Dresden, where the sermon arrived during the festival of Christmas: "besides the work is written in German, in order that the common people may understand it."§ The devotion of the prince was disturbed, and on the third day of the festival he wrote to his cousin Frederic: "Since the publication of this discourse, the number of the Bohemians

* Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta *ex opere operato* non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis, ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit. (Concil. Trident. Sess. 7. can. 8.)

† Known by the name of *opus operatum*.

‡ That of *opus operantis*. § L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 281.

who receive the Lord's Supper in both kinds has increased six thousand. Your Luther, instead of a simple Wittemberg professor, will, ere long, be Bishop of Prague, and an arch-heretic."—"He is a Bohemian by birth," said some, "and of Bohemian parents! He was brought up at Prague, and instructed from the writings of Wiclif!"

Luther thought fit to contradict these reports in a tract, wherein he formally gave an account of his origin. "I was born at Eisleben," he said, "and was baptized in the Church of St. Peter. I never in my life was nearer to Bohemia than Dresden."*

The letter of Duke George did not estrange the Elector from Luther. A few days afterwards, this prince invited the doctor to a splendid banquet, which he gave to the Spanish Ambassador, and Luther on this occasion boldly disputed with the minister of Charles.† The Elector, through the medium of his chaplain, had begged him to defend his cause with moderation. "Too much imprudence displeases men," answered Luther to Spalatin, "but too much *prudence* is displeasing to God. It is impossible to make a stand for the Gospel without creating some disturbance and offence. The word of God is a sword, waging war, overthrowing and destroying; it is a casting down,‡ a disturbance, and comes, as the prophet Amos says, as a bear in the way, and as a lioness in the forest. I want nothing from them. I ask nothing. There is One above

* Cæteram ego natus sum in Eisleben. (Luth. Epp. i. p. 389.)

† Cum quo heri ego et Philippus certavimus, splendide invitati. (Ibid. p. 396.)

‡ Verbum Dei gladius est, bellum est, ruina est, scandalum est, perditio est, venenum est. . . . (Ibid. 417.)

who seeks and requires. Whether his requirements be disregarded or obeyed, affects not me."*

Every thing announced that Luther would soon have more need than ever of faith and courage. Eck was forming plans of vengeance. Instead of gathering the laurels which he had reckoned upon, the gladiator of Leipsic had become the laughing-stock of all the men of sense of his country. Keen satires were published against him. One appeared as a "letter from some unlearned Canons." It was written by Œcolampadius, and stung Eck to the quick. Another was a complaint against Eck, probably written by the excellent Pirckheimer, of Nuremberg, abounding in a pungency, and at the same time a dignity of which nothing but the Provincial Letters of Pascal can convey any idea.

Luther expressed his displeasure at some of these writings. "It is better," said he, "to attack openly, than to wound from behind a hedge."†

How was the Chancellor of Ingolstadt deceived in his calculations! His countrymen abandoned him. He prepared to cross the Alps, to invoke foreign assistance. Wherever he went, he breathed threats against Luther, Melancthon, Carlstadt, and even the Elector himself. "Judging by the haughtiness of his words," says the Doctor of Wittemberg, "one would say that he imagines himself to be the Almighty."‡ Inflamed with anger and the

* Ego nihil quæro : est, qui quærat. Stet ergo, sive cadat : ego nihil lucror, aut amitto. (Luth. Epp. i. 418.)

† Melior est aperta criminatio, quam iste sub sepe morsus. (Ib. 426.)

‡ Deum crederes omnipotentem loqui. (Ib. 380.

thirst of vengeance, Eck took his departure for Italy, there to receive the reward of his asserted triumphs, and to forge in the capitol at Rome mightier bolts than those weapons of scholastic controversy which had been broken in his hands.

Luther well knew the dangers which this journey of his antagonist was likely to draw down on him, but he did not quail. Spalatin, in alarm, urged him to make advances to an accommodation. "No," replied Luther, "so long as he challenges, I dare not withdraw from the contest. I commit every thing to God, and give up my bark to winds and waves. The battle is the Lord's. Why will you fancy that it is by *peace* that Christ will advance his cause? Has not he himself,—have not all the martyrs after him, poured forth their blood in the conflict?"*

Such, at the commencement of the year 1520, was the position of the two combatants of Leipsic. The one engaged in rousing the power of the Papacy to crush his rival. The other awaiting the contest with all the calmness of one who seems to reckon upon peace. The year then opening was destined to witness the bursting of the storm.

* Cogor rem Deo committere, data flatibus et fluctibus nave; Bellum Domini est. (Ibid. p. 425.)

BOOK VI.

THE ROMAN BULL. 1520.

A NEW actor was about to appear on the stage. It was the will of God that the Monk of Wittemberg should be brought face to face with the most powerful monarch who had appeared in Christendom since the days of Charlemagne. He made choice of a prince in the vigour of youth, to whom every thing promised a reign of long duration, a prince whose sceptre bore sway over a considerable part of the old, and also over a new World, so that, according to a celebrated saying, the sun never set upon his vast domains; and with this prince he confronted the humble Reformation, that had had its beginning in the secret cell of a convent at Erfurth in the anguish and groans of a poor monk. The history of this monarch, and of his reign, was destined, apparently, to read an important lesson to the world. It was to shew the nothingness of all "the strength of man," when it presumes to strive against "the weakness of God." Had a prince, friendly to Luther, been called to the empire, the success of the Reformation might have been attributed to his protection. Had an emperor of feeble character filled the throne—even though he should have been opposed to the new doctrine, the success that attended it might have admitted of explanation by the weakness of the reigning sovereign. But it was the haughty conqueror of Pavia whose pride was to

be humbled before the power of the divine Word; and the whole world was called to witness that he to whom power was given to lead Francis I. to the dungeons of Madrid was compelled to lay down the sword before the son of a poor miner.

The Emperor Maximilian was no more. The electors were assembled at Frankfort to choose his successor. This was a decision of high importance to all Europe under present circumstances. All Christendom was occupied with the election. Maximilian had not been what is called a great prince; but his memory was dear to the people. They were fond of calling to mind his ready wit, and good-nature. Luther often mentioned him in conversation with his friends, and one day related the following sally of the monarch:

A mendicant was following him closely, asking alms, and calling him brother; "for," said he, "we are both descended from the same father, Adam. I am poor," he continued, "but you are rich, and therefore ought to assist me." The emperor turned round at these words, and said: "Here, take this penny, go to your other brethren, and if every one of them gives you as much, you will soon be richer than I am."*

The crisis required, for the imperial crown, a prince of more energy than the good-natured Maximilian. The times were about to change; ambitious potentates were to contest the throne of the Emperors of the West; a powerful hand must seize the reins of the Empire, and long and bloody wars must succeed to a profound peace.

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii. 1869.

Three kings contended at the diet of Frankfort for the crown of the Cæsars. A young prince, grandson of the late Emperor, born in the first year of the century, and consequently nineteen years of age, was the first who presented himself. He was named Charles, and was born at Ghent. His grandmother, on the father's side, Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, had bequeathed to him Flanders, and the rich territories of Burgundy. His mother, Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella of Castile, and wife of Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian, had transmitted to him the united crowns of Spain, Naples, and Sicily; to which Christopher Columbus had added a new World. The death of his grandfather placed him at this moment in possession of the hereditary dominions of Austria. This young prince, endowed with much intelligence, and amiable when it pleased him to be so, combined with the taste for military exercises, in which the illustrious Dukes of Burgundy had so long distinguished themselves, the subtlety and penetration of the Italians, the reverence for existing institutions which still characterises the house of Austria, and which promised a firm and zealous defender to the Papacy, and a great knowledge of public affairs, acquired under the tutorship of Chiévres. From the age of fifteen he had attended at all the deliberations of his council.* These various qualities were in some degree concealed and veiled by the reserve and taciturnity peculiar to the Spanish nation. There was something melancholy in his long thin visage, "He is

* Memoires de Du Bellay, i. 45.

pious and silent," said Luther; "I venture to say that he does not speak so much in a year as I do in a day."* If the character of Charles had been developed under the influence of liberal and christian principles, he would perhaps have been one of the most admirable princes recorded in history; but political considerations absorbed his thoughts, and tarnished his better qualities.

Not contented with the many sceptres gathered together in his hand, the young Charles aspired to the imperial dignity. "It is a sunbeam which sheds splendour on the house it lights upon," remarked some; "but when any one puts forth the hand to lay hold on it, he grasps nothing." Charles, on the contrary, saw in it the summit of all earthly greatness, and a means of obtaining a sort of magic influence over the minds of the people.

Francis I. of France, was the second of the competitors. The young paladins of the court of this king, incessantly urged on him, that he ought, like Charlemagne, to be Emperor of all the West; and, following the example of the knights of old, lead them against the Crescent, which menaced the Empire, strike the power of the infidels to the dust, and recover the holy sepulchre. "It is necessary," said the ambassadors of Francis to the Electors, "to prove to the dukes of Austria, that the imperial crown is not hereditary. Germany has need, under existing circumstances, not of a young man of nineteen, but of a prince who unites, with experienced judgment, talents already acknowledged. Francis will combine the forces of France and

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii. p. 1874.

Lombardy, with those of Germany, to make war upon the Mussulmans. Besides this, as he is sovereign of the duchy of Milan, he is already a member of the Empire." The French ambassadors supported these arguments with 400,000 crowns, expended in purchasing suffrages, and with entertainments, at which the guests were to be gained over to their party.

Lastly, Henry VIII. king of England, jealous of the power which the choice of the Electors would give, either to Francis or to Charles, also entered the lists: but he soon left these two powerful rivals to dispute the crown between them.

The Electors were disinclined to the cause of the latter candidates. The people of Germany, they thought, would see in the king of France a foreign master, and this master might very likely deprive themselves of that independence of which the nobility of his own dominions had lately seen themselves stripped. As for Charles, it was an established maxim with the Electors, not to choose a prince already playing an important part in the Empire. The Pope partook of their apprehensions from such a choice. He was for rejecting the king of Naples, his neighbour, and the king of France, whose enterprising spirit he dreaded. "Choose rather one from amongst yourselves;" was the advice he caused to be conveyed to the Electors. The Elector of Treves proposed the nomination of Frederic of Saxony. The Imperial crown was laid at the feet of this friend of Luther.

Such a choice would have obtained the approbation of all Germany. The prudence of Frederic,

and his love for the people were well known. At the time of the revolt of Erfurth, he had been urged to take that town by assault. He refused, that he might spare the effusion of blood. And when it was urged that the assault would not cost the lives of five men: his answer had been, "A single life would be too much."* It seemed as if the election of the protector of the Reformation, was on the point of securing its triumph. Ought not Frederic to have regarded the wish of the Electors as a call from God himself? Who was better able to preside over the destinies of the Empire, than so prudent a prince? Who more likely to withstand the Turks than an Emperor abounding in faith? It may be that the Elector of Saxony's refusal, so much lauded by historians, was a fault on the part of this prince. It may be that the struggles by which Germany was afterwards torn, are to be partly attributed to this refusal. But it is hard to say, whether Frederic deserves censure for want of faith, or honour for his humility. He judged that the safety of the Empire required that he should refuse the crown.† "There is need of an Emperor more powerful than myself to save Germany;" said this modest and disinterested prince: "the Turk is at our gates. The king of Spain, whose hereditary possessions (in Austria) border on the menaced frontier, is its natural defender."

The legate of Rome, seeing that Charles was

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii. p. 1858.

† Is vero heroïca plane moderatione animi magnifice repudiavit... (Pallavicini, i. p. 79.)

about to be chosen, declared that the Pope withdrew his objections; and on the 28th of June the grandson of Maximilian was elected. "God," said Frederic, at a subsequent period, "has given him to us in mercy and in displeasure."* The Spanish envoys offered 30,000 gold florins to the Elector of Saxony, as a mark of their master's gratitude; but this prince refused the gift, and prohibited his ministers from accepting any present. At the same time, he contributed to the security of the liberties of Germany, by a treaty to which the envoys of Charles swore in his name. The circumstances under which the latter assumed the Imperial crown seemed to give a stronger pledge than these oaths in favour of German liberty and of the continued progress of the Reformation. The young prince felt himself cast into shade by the laurels which his rival, Francis I., had gathered at Marignan. Their rivalry was to be continued in Italy, and the time it would occupy would, doubtless, be sufficient to strengthen and confirm the Reformation. Charles quitted Spain in May, 1520, and was crowned on the 22nd of October at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Luther had foreseen that the cause of the Reformation would, ere long, have to be pleaded before the Emperor. He wrote to Charles, while this prince was still at Madrid. "If the cause which I defend," said he to him, "is worthy of appearing before the throne of the Majesty of heaven, it is surely not unworthy of engaging the attention of a prince of this world. O Charles! thou prince

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii. p. 1880.

among the kings of the earth! I throw myself as a suppliant at the feet of your Most Serene Majesty, and conjure you to deign to receive under the shadow of your wings, not me, but the very cause of that eternal truth, for the defence of which God has entrusted you with the sword."* The young king of Spain treated this strange letter from a German monk with neglect, and gave no answer.

While Luther was in vain turning his eyes towards Madrid, the storm seemed to increase around him. The flame of fanaticism was kindled in Germany. Hochstraten, never weary in attempts at persecution, had extracted certain theses from the writings of Luther. The universities of Cologne and of Louvain had, at his solicitation, condemned these works. That of Erfurth, still retaining an angry recollection of Luther's preference of Wittemberg, was about to follow their example; but Luther, on learning their intention, wrote to Lange in such strong terms, that the theologians of Erfurth were alarmed and kept silence. The condemnation, pronounced at Cologne and Louvain, was sufficient, however, to produce great excitement. Add to this that the priests of Meissen, who had taken part with Emser in his quarrel, openly declared (according to the statement of Melancthon) that whoever should kill Luther would be without sin.† "The time is come," says Luther, "in which men will think that they do service to Jesus Christ in

* Causam ipsam veritatis. — (L. Epp. i. 392, Jan. 15, 1520.)

† Ut sine peccato esse eum censebant qui me interfecerit. (L. Epp. i. 383.)

putting us to death." These murderous suggestions, as might have been expected, produced their natural results.

While Luther was walking one day before the monastery of the Augustines, says one of his biographers, a stranger, having a pistol concealed in his sleeve, approached, and said to him: "Why do you go thus alone?" "I am in the hands of God," answered Luther; "he is my strength and shield. What can man do unto me?"* Hereupon, adds the historian, the stranger turned pale, and fled trembling. Serra Longa, the orator of the conference of Augsburg, wrote about the same time to the Elector: "Let not Luther find an asylum in your Highness's territories; let him be everywhere driven back and stoned in open day: that will rejoice me more than if you were to give me 10,000 crowns."†

It was, however, on the side of Rome that the storm was chiefly gathering. A nobleman of Thuringia, Valentin Teutleben, vicar of the Archbishop of Mentz, and a zealous partisan of the Papacy, was the representative of the Elector of Saxony at Rome. Teutleben, scandalised at the protection which his master granted to the heretical monk, saw with vexation and impatience his mission paralysed by this, as he thought, imprudent conduct. He imagined that by alarming the Elector he should induce him to abandon the rebellious theologian. "I can get no hearing," wrote he, "on account of

* Wass kann mir ein Mensch thun? (Keith, L. Umstände, p. 89.)

† Tenzel Hist. Ber. ii. p. 168.

the protection which you grant to Luther." But the Romanists were deceived, if they thought to intimidate the prudent Frederic. This prince knew that the will of God and the voice of the people were more irresistible than decrees of the papal court. He directed his ambassador to intimate to the Pope, that, far from defending Luther, he had always left him to defend himself; that he had already requested him to quit the university, and even Saxony; that the doctor had declared himself ready to obey, and would not have been then in the electoral states, had not the legate himself, Charles Miltitz, begged the prince to keep him near his own person, lest, repairing to other countries, Luther should act with more liberty than in Saxony itself.* Frederic did still more: he wished to open the eyes of Rome. "Germany," continued he, in his letter, "possesses a great number of learned men, well acquainted with languages and sciences; the laity themselves are beginning to be enlightened, and to be fond of the sacred writings; and if the reasonable terms of Dr. Luther are refused, it is much to be feared that peace will never be re-established. The doctrine of Luther has taken deep root in many hearts. If, instead of refuting it by the testimony of the Bible, attempts are made to crush it by the thunders of the Church, great offence will be occasioned, and terrible and dangerous rebellions will be excited."†

* Da er viel freyer und sicherer schreiben und handeln möchte was er wollte. . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 298.)

† Schreckliche, grausame, schädliche und verderbliche Empörungen erregen. (Ib.)

The Elector, placing confidence in Luther, caused the letter of Teutleben, as well as another which he had received from the Cardinal St. George, to be communicated to him. The Reformer was much moved on reading them. He saw at once all the dangers that surrounded him, and his mind was for an instant overwhelmed. But it was at such moments that his faith broke forth, and manifested itself in all its strength. Often weak and ready to fall into despondency, he was seen to rise and appear greater in the midst of the storm. He would gladly have been delivered from so many trials, but he knew well at what price peace was offered to him, and he indignantly rejected it. "Hold my peace!" said he; "I am willing to do so, if they will permit me, that is to say, if they will silence others. If any one envies me my appointments, let him take them; if any one desires the destruction of my writings, let him burn them. I am ready to keep silence, provided it be not required that evangelical truth should stand still.* I ask for no cardinal's hat, nor gold, nor any thing else that Rome values. I will make any sacrifices; so that the way of salvation is left open to Christians.† All their threats do not terrify me, all their promises cannot seduce me."

Warmed by these feelings, Luther soon recovered his disposition for action, and chose the Christian's conflict rather than the calm of the

* Semper quiescere paratus, modo veritatem evangelicam non jubeant quiescere. (L. Epp. i. p 462.)

† Si salutis viam Christianis permittant esse liberam, hoc unum peto ab illis, ac præterea nihil. (Ibid.)

recluse. One night sufficed to reproduce in his mind the desire to overthrow the power of Rome. "My resolution is taken," he wrote next morning: "I despise alike the rage and the favour of Rome. Away with reconciliation! I desire never more to have any communication with her.* Let her condemn—let her burn my writings! In my turn, I will condemn and publicly burn the canon law, that nest of all heresies. My moderation hitherto has been useless; and I renounce it!"

His friends were very far from being so confident. The consternation was great at Wittemberg. "Our expectation is on the stretch," said Melancthon. "I would rather die than be separated from Luther.† If God does not send us help we perish." "Our Luther is still alive," wrote he a month afterwards in his anxiety; "God grant that he may yet live long! for the Romish sycophants leave no stone unturned for his destruction. Pray for the preservation of the intrepid vindicator of sacred learning."‡

These prayers were heard. The warnings which the Elector had addressed to Rome through the medium of his representative were not without foundation. The preaching of Luther had resounded far and wide; in cottages, in convents, in the houses of the citizens, in the castles of the nobles, in the academies, and in the palaces of

* Nolo eis reconciliari nec communicare in perpetuum. (L. Epp. i. p. 466. July 10th, 1520.)

† Emori mallim, quam ab hoc viro avelli. (Corpus Reform. i. p. 160, 163.)

‡ Martinus noster spirat, atque utinam diu . . . (Ib. 190, 208.)

kings. "Let my life," he had said to Duke John of Saxony, "be found to bear fruit only in the conversion of one man, and I shall willingly consent that all my books should perish."* It was not a single individual, it was a great multitude, that had discovered light in the writings of the humble doctor. Accordingly, every where men were found ready to protect him. The sword, intended for his destruction, was being forged in the Vatican; but heroes were arising in Germany who would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. At the moment when the bishops were chafing with anger, when the princes kept silence, when the people were in expectation, and the thunders were already rolling above the seven hills, God stirred up the German nobility to form a bulwark for his servant.

Sylvester of Schaumburg, one of the most powerful knights of Franconia, at this juncture sent his son to Wittemberg with a letter for the Reformer. "Your life is in danger," wrote Schaumburg. "If the assistance of the electors, of the princes, or of the magistrates should fail you, beware, I entreat you, of seeking refuge in Bohemia, where learned men have formerly had so much to endure; come rather to me. I shall soon, God willing, have collected above a hundred gentlemen, and with their help I shall be able to preserve you from all peril."†

Francis of Sickingen, that hero of his age, whose

* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 392.

† Denn Ich, und hundert von Adel, die Ich (ob Gott will) aufbringen will, euch redlich anhalten . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 381.)

intrepid courage we have already seen,* loved the Reformer, both because he thought him worthy to be loved, and also because he was hated by the monks.† "My services, my possessions, and my person, in short every thing which I have," he wrote, "is at your disposal. You are resolved to stand up for the truth of the Gospel. I am ready to lend my aid in that work."‡ Harmuth of Cronberg held the same language. Lastly, Ulric of Hütten, the poet and valiant knight of the sixteenth century, took every occasion to speak out in favour of Luther. But what a contrast between these two men! Hütten wrote to the Reformer: "We want swords, bows, javelins, and bombs, in order to repel the fury of the devil." Luther on receiving these letters exclaimed, "I will not resort to arms and bloodshed for the defence of the Gospel. It is by the preaching of the Word that the world has been conquered; by the Word the Church has been saved; by the Word, also, it will be restored." "I do not despise his offer," said he again on receiving the letter of Schaumburg which we have mentioned, "but I will depend on none but Christ alone."§ Not thus had Roman Pontiffs spoken when they waded in the blood of the Waldenses and Albigenses. Hütten was conscious of the difference between Luther's object and his own; and accord-

* "Equitum Germaniæ rarum decus," says Melancthon on the occasion. (Corp. Reform. i. p. 201.)

† Et ob id invisus illis. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 132.)

‡ Ibid.

§ Nolo nisi Christo protectore niti. (L. Epp. i. p. 148.)

ingly wrote thus nobly to him on the subject: "My thoughts are running on earthly aims, while you contemning such things, are devoted to the things of God alone;"* and forthwith he set out to endeavour, if possible, to gain over to the cause of truth Ferdinand and Charles V.†

Thus at one moment the enemies of Luther overwhelm him, and at another his friends arise in his defence. "My bark," says he, "is driven at the mercy of the winds,—fear and hope alternately prevail; but what does it signify?"‡ Nevertheless the testimonies of sympathy which he received were not without their effect upon his mind. "The Lord reigns," he said; "I see His hand palpably present."§ Luther felt that he no longer stood alone; his words had borne fruit,—and this thought inspired him with fresh courage. The fear of compromising the interests of the Elector could no longer keep him in check, now that he felt that he had other defenders prepared to brave the anger of Rome. He became consequently more free, and, if possible, more resolute. This is an important epoch in the development of Luther's character. "It is right that Rome should understand," wrote he at this time to the chaplain of the Elector, "that although she should succeed in obtaining by her threats my

* Mea humana sunt: tu perfectior, jam totus ex divinis pendes. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 175.)

† Viam facturus libertati (cod. Bavar. veritati) per maximos principes. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 201.)

‡ Ita fluctuat navis mea; nunc spes, nunc timor regnat. (L. Epp. i. p. 443.)

§ Dominus regnat, ut palpare possimus. (Ib. 451.)

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expulsion from Wittemberg, she would only injure her own cause. Not in Bohemia, but in the heart of Germany, are those who are ready to defend me against the thunders of the Papacy. If I have not yet brought to bear upon my adversaries all that I am preparing for them, it is neither to my moderation nor to the weight of their tyranny that they are to attribute my forbearance, but to the name of the Elector and to the interests of the University of Wittemberg, which I feared to compromise; now that such fears are dissipated I am about to redouble my efforts against Rome and her courtiers."*

Yet it was not so much on the great the Reformer relied. He had been often urged to dedicate one of his books to Duke John, brother of the Elector, but had abstained from doing so. "I fear," he had said, "lest this suggestion may proceed from himself. The Holy Scriptures ought not to minister to the glory of any other name but that of God."† Luther now shook off these fears, and dedicated to Duke John his discourse on Good Works. Of all his writings, this is one in which the Reformer most powerfully opens the doctrine of justification by faith, that great truth, whose power he estimates far above the sword of Hütten, the armed bands of Sickingen, or the favour of dukes or electors.

"The first, the noblest, and the greatest of all works," says he, "is *faith* in Jesus Christ.‡ From

* Sævius in Romanenses grassaturus . . . . (L. Epp. i. p. 465.)

† Scriptarum sacram nolim alicujus nomini nisi Dei servire. (L. Epp. i. p. 431.)

‡ Das erste und höchste, alleredelste—gute Werck ist der Glaube in Christum . . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 394.)

this work all others must flow. They are all but the vassals of faith, and receive from it alone all their efficacy."

"If a man but feel in his heart the assurance that what he does is acceptable to God, his action is good, though he should but raise a straw from the earth; but if he has not this confidence, his action is not a good work, even though he should raise the dead to life. A Heathen, a Jew, a Turk, a sinner, may do all other works; but to put one's trust in God, and have assurance that we are accepted by him, is what none but the Christian standing in grace is capable of doing."

"A Christian who has faith in God, does all with liberty and joy: while that man who is not at one with God, is full of cares and under bondage; he enquires anxiously what amount of good works is required of him; he turns to ask of this man or another, finding no rest for his soul, and doing every thing with fear and dissatisfaction."

"Therefore it is that I have ever held up the necessity of Faith. But in the world around me it is otherwise. There the essential thing is represented to be the having many works, works of high fame and of all degrees, without regarding whether they are done in faith. Thus they build up their peace, not on the good pleasure of God, but on their own merits, or in other words, on the sand." (Matt. vii. 26.)

"It is said that to preach faith, is to discourage good works; but though a man should have in himself the combined strength of all his race, or even

of all created beings,* this one duty of the life of faith would be a task too great to be ever fully performed. If I say to a sick man: 'resume your health, and you will have the use of your limbs,' can it be said that I forbid him to use his limbs? Must not *health* precede *labour*? It is the same when we preach faith: faith must go before works, *in order to* good works."

"Where then, you will say, is this faith to be found, and how is it to be received? Truly, this is what most concerns us to know. Faith comes from Jesus Christ alone, promised and given freely."

"O man! consider Christ, and see in him how God displays his mercy towards thee without any worthiness of thine going before.† Draw from this discovery of His grace the belief and assurance that all thy sins are forgiven thee. Works never could produce this faith. It flows in the blood,—from the wounds and death of Christ. It springs up, from that source, to rejoice our hearts. Christ is the rock whence flow our milk and honey." (Deut. xxxii.)

Not being able to notice all the works of Luther, we here quote some short extracts from this discourse on Good Works, on account of the Reformer's own opinion of it. "In my opinion," said he, "it is the best of my published writings," and he immediately adds this deep reflection: "But I know

* Wenn ein Mensch tausend, oder alle Menscher, oder alle Creaturen wäre. (L. Opp. (L.) p. 398.)

† Siehe, also musst du Christum in dich bilden, und sehen wie in Ihm Gott—seine Barmherzigkeit dir fürhält und arbeut. (Ibid. p. 401.)

that when I please myself with what I write the infection of that bad leaven hinders it from pleasing others."* Melancthon, in transmitting this discourse to a friend, accompanied it with these words: "No one among all the Greek and Latin writers has come nearer to the spirit of St. Paul than Luther."†

But besides the substitution of a scheme of merits in place of the grand truth of grace and amnesty, another evil had grown up in the Church.‡ A haughty power had arisen in the midst of the humble shepherds of Christ's flock. Luther resolved to attack this usurped authority. In the midst of all his troubles, he had privately studied the rise, progress, and usurpations of the Papacy. The discoveries he had made had filled him with amazement. He no longer hesitated to make them known, and to strike the blow which, like the rod of Moses in old time, was to awaken a people that had long slumbered in bondage. Even before Rome could find time to publish her formidable bull, he himself hurled against her a declaration of war. "The 'time to be silent' is past," he exclaims; "the 'time to speak' is arrived." On the 23rd of June, 1520, he published the celebrated *Appeal to his Imperial Majesty and the Christian nobility of the German nation, concerning the Reformation of Christianity.*§

* Erit, meo judicio, omnium quæ ediderim optimum: quanquam scio quæ mihi mea placent, hoc ipso fermento infecta, non solere aliis placere. (L. Epp. i. p. 431.)

† Quo ad Pauli spiritum nemo proprius accessit. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 202.)

‡ Vol. 1. p. 2, &c. § L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 447 to 502.

"It is not rashly and without consideration," said he, in the commencement of this appeal, "that I, a man of the common people, take upon myself to address your highnesses. The misery and oppression which at this hour weigh down all Christian states, and more especially Germany, wring from me a cry of distress. I find myself compelled to call for help; I must see if God will not give his Spirit to some one or other of our countrymen, and thus stretch forth his hand to save our wretched nation. God has placed over us a young and generous prince (the Emperor Charles V.),* and has thus filled our hearts with high hopes. But we ourselves must, on our parts, do all that is possible for us to do.

"Now, it is of the very first necessity, that we do not at all rely upon our own strength, or our own wisdom. If we begin even a good work with confidence in ourselves, God overturns and destroys it. Frederic I., Frederic II., and many other emperors besides, before whom the world stood in awe, have been trampled under foot by the Popes, because they trusted in their own strength rather than in God. Therefore they could not succeed. It is against the power of hell that we have to contend in this struggle. We must set about the work, hoping nothing from the strength of our own arms, and depending humbly on the Lord; looking to the present distress of Christians, instead of dwelling on the acts of evil doers. Take but another course, and though the work may seem to prosper for a

* Gott hat uns ein junges edles Blut zum Haupt gegeben. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 457.)

while, all of a sudden, in the very height of the struggle, confusion will come in, evil men will cause boundless disasters, and the world will be deluged with blood. The greater our power, the greater our danger if we walk not in the fear of the Lord."

After this exordium, Luther continued as follows:

"The Romanists have raised three barriers against all reformation. When the temporal power has attacked them, they have denied its authority, and asserted that the spiritual power was superior to it. When any one rebuked them out of the Scripture, they have answered that no one, but the Pope, was able to interpret Scripture. When they have been threatened with a council, the reply has been, no one but the Sovereign Pontiff, has authority to convoke a council."

"They have thus wrested from our hands the three rods destined to correct them, and have given the rein to all evil. But now, God help us, and give us one of those trumpets which overthrew the walls of Jericho! With the breath of our lips, let us throw down the paper walls, which the Romanists have built around them, and lift up the scourges which punish the wicked, by exposing the wiles and stratagems of the devil."

Luther then begins the assault. He shakes to its very foundations that papal monarchy which had for centuries past banded together the nations of the West under the sceptre of the Roman bishop. That there is no such thing as a priestly caste, is the truth, hidden from the church even from its first ages, which he powerfully sets forth at the outset:

"It has been said, that the pope, the bishops, the priests, and those who dwell in the convents, form the spiritual or ecclesiastical state; and that the princes, nobles, citizens, and peasants, form the secular state or laity. This is a fine story, truly. Let no one, however, be alarmed by it. *All Christians* belong to the spiritual state; and there is no other difference between them, than that of the functions which they discharge. We have all one baptism, one faith, and it is this which constitutes the spiritual man. The unction, the tonsure, ordination, consecration by the bishop or the pope, may make an hypocrite, but never a spiritual man. We are all alike consecrated priests by baptism, as St. Peter says: 'Ye are priests and kings;' although it does not belong to all to exercise such offices, for none can take to himself that which is common to all, without the consent of the community. But if we were without this consecration from God, the Pope's unction could never constitute a priest. If a king had ten sons of equal claim to the inheritance, and they should choose one of their number to act for them, they would all be kings, though only one of them would administer their common power. The case is the same with the Church. If any pious laymen were banished to a desert, and, having no regularly consecrated priest among them, were to agree to choose for that office one of their number, married or unmarried, this man would be as truly a priest as if he had been consecrated by all the bishops in the world. Augustine, Ambrose, and Cyprian were chosen in this manner.

"Hence it follows that laity and priests, princes

and bishops, or, as they say, the clergy and the laity, have in reality nothing to distinguish them, but their functions. They all belong to the same estate; but all have not the same work to perform.

"If this be true, why should not the magistrate chastise the clergy? the secular power has been ordained by God for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of those who do well. And free scope should be allowed for it to act throughout Christendom; let it touch whom it may, pope, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, or any others. St. Paul says to all Christians: *Let every soul** (consequently the Pope also,) *be subject to the higher powers, for they bear not the sword in vain.*"

Having in like manner overturned "the other barriers," Luther passed in review the corruptions of Rome. He displayed in a popular style of eloquence, the evils that had been felt and acknowledged for centuries. Never had a more noble protest been heard. The great assembly before whom Luther spoke was the Church; the power whose corruptions he attacked was that papal power which had for ages weighed heavily upon all nations; and the reformation he so loudly called for was destined to exert its powerful influence over all Christian nations throughout the world, and to last as long as man shall exist upon the earth.

He commenced with the Pope. "It is monstrous," he says, "to see him who is called the vicar of Christ, displaying a magnificence unrivalled by that of any Emperor. Is this to resemble the poor and lowly Jesus, or the humble St. Peter? The Pope,

* Πᾶσα ψυχή. Rom xii. 1, 4.

say they, is the lord of the world! But Christ, whose vicar he boasts himself to be, said: *My kingdom is not of this world.* Ought the power of the vicar to go beyond that of his Lord?"

Luther next proceeded to describe the effects of papal sway. "Do you know what end the Cardinals serve? I will tell you. Italy and Germany have many convents, religious foundations, and benefices, richly endowed. By what machinery can this wealth be drawn to Rome?—Cardinals have been created; to them these cloisters and prelacies have been given; and at this moment—Italy is almost deserted, the convents are destroyed, the bishoprics devoured, the towns falling to decay, the inhabitants demoralized, religious worship expiring, and preaching abolished! And why is all this? Because, forsooth, all the wealth of the churches must go to Rome. The Turk himself would never have so ruined Italy."

Luther then turned to his native country.

"And now that they have sucked the blood of their own nation, they come to Germany; they begin softly; but let us be on our guard! or Germany will soon be like Italy. We have already some Cardinals here and there. Before the dull-minded Germans comprehend our design, think they, they will have neither bishopric, convent, benefice, nor so much as one penny left. Antichrist must possess the treasure of the earth. Thirty or forty Cardinals will be created in a day: to one will be given Bamberg, to another the bishopric of Wurzburg; to these will be attached rich benefices, until the churches and the cities are left desolate.

And then the Pope will say: I am the vicar of Christ, and shepherd of his flocks. Let the Germans submit to my authority!"

The indignation of Luther kindled as he proceeded.

"What! shall we Germans endure these robberies and extortions of the Pope? If the kingdom of France has been able to defend itself from them, why should we suffer ourselves to be thus ridiculed and laughed at? And oh! would that they robbed us only of our goods: but they also lay waste the churches: they fleece the sheep of Christ; abolish the worship, and silence the word of God."

Luther exposed the "Romish practice" of gradually abstracting the wealth and the revenues of Germany. Annats, palls, commendams, administrations, expective graces, reversions, incorporations, reserves, &c. all pass before him; "let us," says he, "endeavour to put a stop to so much wretchedness and desolation. If we want to march against the Turks, let us begin with those Turks who are the worst of all. If we hang thieves, and cut off the heads of brigands, let us not suffer the avarice of Rome to escape, which is the greatest of all robbers and thieves; and that too in the name of St. Peter and of Jesus Christ! Who can tolerate this? Who can keep silence? Has not all that the Pope possesses been obtained by robbery? for he has neither purchased it, nor inherited it from St. Peter, nor gained it by his labours. Whence then does it all come?—"

The Reformer proposes remedies for all these evils. He calls energetically upon the German nobility, to put an end to these depredations on the

part of Rome. Coming then to the Pope himself. "Is it not ridiculous," he exclaimed, "that the Pope should pretend to be the lawful heir of the Empire? who gave it to him? Was it Christ, when he said: *The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; but it shall not be so with you?* (Luke xxii. 25, 26.) How is it possible to govern an empire, and at the same time to preach, pray, study, and have care for the poor? Christ forbade the twelve to carry with them either gold or two coats, because the duties of the ministry cannot be discharged, unless there is a freedom from all other care; and the Pope would at the same time govern the Empire, and remain Pope!"

Luther went on to strip the Pontiff of his spoils: "Let the Pope renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He has no more right to it than I have. It is without any just claim, and inconsistent with the directions of Christ, that he holds possession of Bologna, Imola, Ravenna, Romagna, the Marches of Ancona, &c. '*No man that warreth*,' says St. Paul, '*entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.*' (2 Tim. ii. 4). And the Pope, who claims to be chief of the Church militant, entangles himself more with the things of this life, than any emperor or king. We must relieve him from all this burthen. Let the Emperor put into the hands of the Pope the Bible and mass-book, in order that his holiness may leave government for kings, and keep to preaching and praying."*

He was quite as earnest against the Pope's eccle-

* Ihm die Biblien und Betbücher dafür anzeigen — und er predige und bete. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 472.)

siastical authority in Germany, as against his temporal power in Italy. "As a first step," says he, "it behoves us to expel from all the German States, the Pope's legates, and the pretended benefits which they sell us at their weight in gold, and which are mere impostures. They take our money, and for what? for legalizing ill-gotten gains—for dissolving the sacredness of oaths—for teaching us to break faith—for instructing us in sin, and leading us directly to hell. Hear, this—O Pope! not 'most holy'—but most sinning! May God, from his throne on high, hurl thy throne ere long to the bottomless pit!"

The Christian tribune proceeded. Having summoned the Pope to his bar, he cited before him all the corruptions which followed in the train of the Papacy, and began to sweep from the floor of the Church, the rubbish that encumbered it. He commenced with the monks:

"Now then I come to that slothful crew who promise much but do little. Bear with me, my friends, I mean you well; what I have to say to you is a truth both sweet and bitter—it is that no more cloisters must be built for mendicant friars. God knows we have enough already, and would to heaven they were all levelled with the ground! Vagabonding through a country never has done, and never can do good."

The marriage of ecclesiastics comes next. It was the first time that Luther had spoken on that subject:

"To what a condition is the clergy fallen, and how many priests do we find burdened with women,

and children, and their bitter remorse, while no one comes to their aid! It may suit the Pope and the bishops to let things go on as they list, and that which is lost continue lost: be it so. But for my part, I will deliver my conscience. I will open my mouth freely: let pope, bishop, or whoever will, take offence at it! I say then, that according to the appointment of Christ and his apostles, every town should have a pastor, or bishop, and that this pastor may have one wife, as St. Paul writes to Timothy: 'Let the bishop be the husband of one wife,' (1 Tim. iii. 2), and as is still the practice in the Greek church. But the devil has persuaded the Pope, as St. Paul tells Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 1—3), 'to forbid' the clergy 'to marry.' And hence miseries innumerable. What is to be done? What resource for so many pastors, irreproachable in every thing, except, that they live in secret commerce with a woman to whom they would, with all their heart, be joined in wedlock? Ah! let them set their consciences at rest! let them take this woman for their lawful wife, let them live virtuously with her, without troubling themselves whether it please the pope or not. The salvation of the soul is of more consequence than tyrannous and arbitrary laws, which come not from the Lord."

It is in this way that the Reformation sought to restore purity of morals in the Church. The Reformer continued:

"Let festivals be abolished, and none observed but Sunday: or if it is wished to keep the great Christian festivals, let them be celebrated only in the morning, and the rest of the day be regarded

as a working-day. For since people do nothing on feast-days but drink, play, run into vice, or waste their time in idleness, there is much more offence to God on these days than on others."

He then turns to the dedication of churches, which he designates mere taverns; and next notices the customary fasts and the different religious fraternities.—He insists not only against the abuses of these things, but aims to put an end to schisms. "It is time," he says, "that we should take a serious interest in the affair of the Bohemians; that we should lay aside hatred and envy, and unite with them." He proposes some excellent measures of conciliation, and adds: "It is thus that we ought to convince heretics by Scripture, following in this the example of the early fathers, and not exterminate them by fire. According to the contrary course, the executioners would be the best teachers in the world. Oh! would to God that on both sides we would stretch out the right hand of brotherly humility, instead of erecting ourselves in the opinion of our strength of argument and right. Charity is more needed than the Roman Papacy. I have done all in my power. If the Pope and his adherents offer opposition, on their own heads must rest the responsibility. The Pope ought to be willing to surrender every thing—authority, wealth, and honour—if by so doing he could save one soul. But he would rather see the whole universe perish, than yield a hair's-breadth of the power he has usurped! I am clear of these things."*

* Nun liess er ehe dei Welt untergehen, ehe er ein Haar-breit seiner vermessenen Gewalt lisse abbrechen. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 483.)

After this, Luther turns to the universities and schools:

"I fear much," he says, "that the universities will be found to be great gates leading down to hell, unless they take diligent care to explain the Holy Scriptures, and to engrave them in the hearts of our youth. I would not advise any one to place his child where the Holy Scriptures are not regarded as the rule of life. Every institution where God's word is not diligently studied, must become corrupt."* Weighty words! which governments, fathers, and the learned in all ages, would do well to consider.

Towards the close of his appeal, he reverts to the Empire and the Emperor:

"The Pope," he says, "not being able to manage the ancient masters of the Roman empire, bethought himself of the plan of appropriating their title and empire, and then giving them to us Germans. Thus it has happened that we have become vassals of the Pope. The Pope took possession of Rome, extorting from the Emperor an oath not to reside there; and hence it is that the Emperor is Emperor of Rome, without Rome! We have the name, and the Pope the country and its cities. We have the title and arms of the Empire: the Pope monopolizes its treasure, power, privileges, and liberties. He devours the kernel, and we are put off with the shell. It is thus that the pride and tyranny of Rome has at all times abused our simplicity."

"But may God, who has given us such an em-

* Es muss verderben, alles was nicht Gottes Wort ohn Unterlass treibt. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 486.)

pire, now stand by us! Let us act worthily of our name, our title, and our arms; let us preserve our liberty! and let the Romans learn what it is that God has given us by their hands. They boast of having given us an *empire*. Well, then, let us take it, for it is ours. Let the Pope abandon Rome, and all he holds possession of in the Empire. Let him cease his taxes and extortions! Let him restore to us our liberty, our power, our property, our honour, our souls and bodies! Let the Empire be what an empire ought to be, and let the sword of princes no longer be lowered before the hypocritical pretensions of a Pope!"

There is a lofty reason in these words, besides their force and persuasion. Did ever, before, any orator make such an appeal to the whole nobility of the empire, and the Emperor himself? Far from wondering that so many of the German States separated themselves from Rome, ought we not rather to be astonished that all Germany did not rise *en masse* and retake from Rome that imperial power which the Popes had with so much effrontery usurped?

Luther terminates this bold harangue with these words:

"I can easily believe that I may have held too high a tone, that I may have proposed many things which will appear impossible, and attacked many errors with too much vehemence. But what can I do? Let the world be offended rather than God! They can but take my life. Again and again I have offered peace to my adversaries. But God has, by their own instruments, compelled me continually to uplift a louder and a louder voice against them.

I have one indictment in reserve against Rome. If their ears itch to know what it is, I will utter it aloud. Dost thou not know, O Rome! dost thou not know well what I mean? . . ."

Allusion is probably made here to a tract on Popery which Luther intended to give to the world, but which has not been published. The prior Burkhard wrote at the time to Spengler; "There is also a little book *de execrandâ venere Romanorum;* but it is kept back." The title indicated the probability that it would afford great occasion of scandal. There is reason to rejoice that Luther had the moderation not to publish this work.

"If my cause is just," continued he, "it will be its lot to be condemned on earth, and espoused only by Christ in heaven. Let them come on then, popes, bishops, priests, monks, and doctors! let them bring forth all their zeal, and let loose all their rage! Verily, it is their part to persecute the truth, as every age has witnessed."

But where did this monk acquire so clear a perception of public affairs, which the States of the Empire themselves often found it difficult to estimate correctly? What could embolden this obscure German to stand up in the midst of his own long-enslaved nation, and to strike such mighty blows against the papal authority? What is this mysterious strength which inspires him? May we not answer that he had heard these words of God, addressed to one of the holy men of old: "Behold, I have made thy face strong against their faces; as an adamant, harder than flint, have I made thy forehead: fear them not."

Addressed to the German Nobility, Luther's appeal soon reached all those for whom it had been written. It spread through Germany with wonderful rapidity. His friends trembled; Staupitz and those who preferred a moderate course thought the blow too severe. "In these days," answered Luther, "whatever is quietly mooted, falls into oblivion, and no one troubles himself about it."* At the same time, he evinced perfect simplicity and humility. He had no conception of the prominent part he was to perform. "I know not what to say of myself," he wrote; "perhaps I am the precursor of Philip (Melancthon), and, like Elias, am preparing the way for him in spirit and in power. And it is *he* who will one day trouble Israel, and the house of Ahab."†

But there was no need to wait for another than him who had already appeared. The house of Ahab was already shaken. The *Appeal to the German Nobility* had appeared on the 26th of June, 1520; and in a short time 4000 copies were sold,—an extraordinary number for that period. The astonishment was universal. This writing produced a powerful sensation among all the people. The force, the spirit, the clearness, and the noble daring which reigned throughout it, rendered it a most popular tract. In short, it was felt by the common people as proceeding from one who loved them. The hesitating views of very many wise men were clearly brought out and the usurpations of Rome were made evident to the minds of all. No one at Wittemberg

* Quæ nostro sæculo quiete tractantur, mox cadere in oblivionem. (L. Epp. i. p. 479.)

† Ibid.

any longer doubted that the Pope was Antichrist. Even the Elector's court, so circumspect and timid, manifested no disapprobation, and seemed to wait the result. But the nobility and the people did not wait. The whole nation was roused; the voice of Luther had deeply moved it; henceforth it was gained over, and rallied round the standard that he raised. Nothing could have been more favourable to the Reformer than this publication. In palaces, in the castles of the nobles, in the citizens' dwellings, and even in the cottages of the peasantry, all were now prepared, and as though cased in steel, against the sentence of condemnation which was about to fall upon this prophet of the people. All Germany was in a flame; and whenever the Pope's bull might come, it would not avail to extinguish the conflagration.

At Rome every thing was ready for the condemnation of the defender of the Church's liberties. That Church had long lived in profound security. For many years the monks of Rome had accused Leo X. of caring for nothing but luxury and pleasure, and wasting time in hunting, plays, and music,* while the Church was nodding to its ruin. Now, at length aroused by the clamours of Eck,—who had come from Leipsic to invoke the power of the Vatican,—the Pope, the cardinals, the monks, and all Rome were awake to the sense of danger and intent on saving the Papacy.

In fact, Rome was brought into the necessity of having recourse to measures of stern severity. The

* E sopra tutto musico eccellentissimo, e quando el canta con qualche uno, li far donar cento e più ducati.—(Zorsi M.S.C.)

gauntlet was thrown down; the combat must be to the death.—It was not the abuses of the Pontiff's authority, but the Pontiff's authority itself—that Luther had attacked. At his bidding, the Pope was required to descend meekly from his throne, and become again a simple pastor or bishop on the banks of the Tiber. All the dignitaries of the Roman hierarchy were required to renounce their riches and worldly glory, and again become the elders and deacons of the churches of Italy. All that splendour and power, which had for centuries dazzled the West, was to vanish away and give place to the humble simplicity of worship of the first Christians. Doubtless God could have wrought these changes, and He will do so in his own time; but they could not be looked for from man. And even if a people had been found so disinterested and courageous as to be willing to overturn the ancient and costly edifice of the Roman Church, thousands of priests and bishops would have put forth their hands to save it from its fall. The Pope had received his power under the express condition of defending the dominion confided to him. Rome believed herself to be set by God for the government of the Church. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that she stood prepared to hurl the most terrible judgments. And yet for a while she hesitated. Many cardinals, and the Pope himself, had no wish to resort to severe measures. The statesman-like Leo was well aware that a sentence, the execution of which depended on the rather doubtful consent of the civil power, might seriously compromise the authority of the Church. He saw

besides that the violent measures already resorted to had but increased the evil. Might not this Saxon monk be gained over? asked the politicians of Rome. Was it possible that the Church's power, aided by Italian artifice, should fail to accomplish its object? Negociation must yet be tried.

Eck, therefore, found many difficulties to contend with. He tried every expedient; labouring incessantly to prevent any concessions to what he deemed heresy. In his daily walks through Rome he loudly vented his anger, and called for vengeance. He was quickly joined by the fanatical party of the monks. Emboldened by these allies, he besieged the Pope and the cardinals with fresh courage. According to him, any attempt at conciliation was useless. Such efforts, said he, are mere fancies and remote expectations. He knew the danger, for he had wrestled with the audacious monk. He saw the necessity for cutting off this gangrened member, lest the disorder should spread throughout the body. The vehement disputer of Leipsic met and removed objection after objection, and with difficulty persuaded the Pope.* He was resolved to save Rome in spite of herself. He left no stone unturned. For hours together he continued in close deliberation with the Pontiff.† He excited the court and the convents, the people and the church. "Eck is moving against me," says Luther, "the lowest depths of hell; he has set the

* Sarpi Hist. du Concile de Trente.

† Stetimus nuper, papa, duo cardinales—et ego per quinque horas in deliberatione . . . (Eckii Epistola, 3 Maii. L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 48.)

forests of Lebanon in a blaze."* At length he carried his point. The politic counsellors were overborne by the fanatics who were admitted to the papal councils. Leo gave away. The condemnation of Luther was determined on, and Eck began to breathe freely. His pride was flattered by the thought that he had decided the ruin of his heretical rival, and thus saved the Church. "It was well," said he, "that I came at this time to Rome, for the errors of Luther were but little known there. It will one day be known how much I have done in behalf of this cause."†

Thus did God send out a spirit of infatuation upon the doctors of Rome. It had become necessary that the separation between truth and error should be effected, and it was error that was destined to make the separation. Had matters been brought to an accommodation, it could only have been at the expense of truth; but to take away from truth the smallest portion of itself is paving the way for its utter loss and annihilation. In this respect Truth resembles the insect which is said to die if deprived of one of its antennæ. Truth requires to be entire and perfect in all its members, in order to the manifestation of that power by which it is able to gain wide and salutary victories, and extend its triumphs to future ages. Blending a little error with truth, is like casting a grain of poison into a full dish; that grain suffices to change the quality of the food, and death, slow but certain, is the

* Impetraturus abyssos abyssorum – succensurus saltum Libani. (L. Epp. i. p. 421, 429.)

† Bonum fuit me venisse hoc tempore Romam. (Epist. Eckii.)

result. The defenders of the doctrine of Christ, against the attacks of its adversaries, guard its advanced outworks as jealously as the citadel itself; for the enemy once in possession of the least important of these posts, is not far removed from conquest. The Roman Pontiff, at the period we are treating of, determined upon rending asunder the Church, and the portion which he has continued to hold, though still magnificent, hides in vain, under outward pomp and ceremony, the principle that is undermining its existence. Where the word of God is, there only is life. Luther, courageous as he was, would probably have been silent if Rome herself had kept silence, or shown any desire to make concessions. But God had not allowed the Reformation to be dependant on the weakness of man's heart; Luther was in the hands of One whose eye penetrated results. Divine providence made use of the Pope to break every link between the past and the future, and to throw the Reformer into a course altogether unknown, and leading he knew not whither. The Papal Bull was Rome's bill of divorce addressed to the pure Church of Jesus Christ in the person of one who was then standing as her humble but faithful representative; and the Church accepted it, that she might thenceforward hold only from her Head who is in heaven.

Whilst at Rome the condemnation of Luther was sought for with violent animosity, a humble priest, an inhabitant of one of the rude towns of Switzerland, who never had any intercourse with the Reformer, had been deeply affected at the thought of the blow which hung over him, and whilst even the

intimates of the doctor of Wittemberg were silent and trembling, this Swiss mountaineer formed the resolution to do his utmost to arrest the dreaded bull! His name was Ulric Zwingle. William Des Faucons, secretary to the Pope's legate in Switzerland, and entrusted by the legate with his duties during his absence, was his friend. "As long as I live," said the Nuncio *ad interim* only a few days before, "you may rest assured of every thing on my part that can be expected from a true friend." The Swiss priest, trusting to this assurance, repaired to the office of the Roman Nuncio (so at least we may conclude from one of his letters). It was not for himself that he feared the dangers into which faith brings the believer: he knew that a disciple of Christ must be ever ready to lay down his life. "All that I ask of Christ for myself," said he to a friend to whom he at the time unbosomed his anxiety respecting Luther, "is that I may support the afflictions which await me like a man. I am a vessel of clay in his hands; let him break me in shivers, or strengthen me as seems good to him." But the Swiss preacher dreaded the consequences to the Church of so severe a blow struck at the Reformer. He laboured to persuade the representative of Rome to inform the Pope on the matter, and to employ all the means in his power to deter him from excommunicating Luther.†

* Hoc unum Christum obtestans, ut masculo omnia pectore ferre donet, et me figulinum suum rumpat aut firmet, ut illi placitum sit. (Zwinglii Epistolæ, curant. Schulero et Schulthessio, p. 144.)

† Ut pontificem admoneat, ne excommunicationem ferat. (Ibid.)

"The dignity of the holy see itself is concerned in it," said he; "for if things come to such a pass, Germany, enthusiastically attached to the Gospel and its teacher, will be sure to treat the Pope and his anathemas with contempt."* The effort was unavailing, and it appears that, even at the time it was made, the blow was already struck. Such was the first occasion on which the path of the Saxon doctor and that of the Swiss priest were so ordered as to meet together. We shall again find the latter in the course of this history, and shall behold him developing his character, and growing by degress to lofty stature in the church of the Lord.

The condemnation of Luther once determined on, new difficulties arose in the bosom of the consistory. The divines proposed to proceed immediately to fulminate the sentence; the civilians, on the contrary, desired to commence by a citation. "Was not Adam," said they, appealing to their colleagues, "cited before he was condemned? 'Adam, where art thou?' said the Lord. In the instance of Cain likewise: 'Where is thy brother Abel?' asked the Eternal." To these singular arguments drawn from holy Writ, the canonists added considerations derived from natural law. "Evidence of a crime," they said, "cannot take from any criminal the right of defending himself against the charge."† It is pleasing to trace such principles of equity in a Romish synod. But these scruples did not suit the

* Nam si feratur, auguror Germanos cum excommunicatione pontificem quoque contempturos. (Zwinglii Epistolæ, curant. Schulero et Schulthessio, p. 144.)

† Sarpi Hist. du Concile de Trente, i. p. 12.

theologians of the assembly, who, carried away by passion, thought only of setting to work quickly. It was finally arranged that Luther's doctrine should be condemned immediately, and that as to himself and his adherents, a term of sixty days should be granted them; after which, if they did not recant their opinions, they should be all *ipso facto* excommunicated. De Vio, who had returned from Germany sick, had himself carried on his couch to the assembly, unwilling to miss this petty triumph, which afforded him some consolation. Though defeated at Augsburg, he claimed to take part at Rome in condemning the unconquerable monk, whom his learning, acuteness, and authority had failed to humble. Luther was not there to answer: hence the boldness of De Vio. On the 15th of June the sacred college agreed on the condemnation, and gave their approbation to the celebrated *bull*.

"Arise, O Lord!" said the Roman Pontiff, speaking at this solemn moment as Vicar of God and Head of the Church, "arise, and remember the reproaches wherewith fools reproach thee all day long. Arise, O Peter! remember thy holy Roman Church, mother of all the churches, and mistress of the faith. Arise, O Paul! for a new Porphyry is here, attacking thy doctrines and the holy popes, our predecessors. Finally, arise, O assembly of all the saints! holy Church of God! and intercede for us with God Almighty."*

The Pope proceeds to cite as pernicious, scandalous and corrupt, forty-one propositions of Lu-

* L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 305. et Opp. lat. i. p. 32.

ther, in which the latter explained the "sound doctrine" of the Gospel. The following are included in the propositions *condemned*:—

"To deny that sin remains in the infant after baptism is to trample under foot St. Paul and our Lord Jesus Christ."

"A new life is the best and highest penitence."

"To burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit," &c. &c.

"As soon as this bull shall be published," continues the Pope, "the bishops are to search diligently for the writings of Martin Luther in which these errors are contained, and to burn them publicly and solemnly in the presence of the clergy and of the laity. As to Martin himself, what is there, in the name of Heaven, that we have not done? Imitating the goodness of God Almighty, we are ready, notwithstanding, to receive him again into the bosom of the Church, and we allow him sixty days to forward to us his recantation in writing, attested by two prelates; or rather, (which would be more satisfactory) to present himself before us in Rome, that none may any more doubt his obedience. In the mean time, he must from this moment cease preaching, teaching, and writing, and commit his works to the flames. And if he do not recant within the space of sixty days, we, by these presents, sentence himself and his adherents as open and contumacious heretics." The Pope afterwards pronounces a long train of excommunications, maledictions, and interdicts against Luther and all his partisans, with orders to seize their persons

and send them to Rome.* It is easy to guess what would have become of these generous confessors of the Gospel in the dungeons of the Papacy.

The storm was thus gathering over the head of Luther; the bull was published; and for centuries Rome had not uttered the sentence of condemnation without following it with the stroke of death. This murderous message from the seven-hilled city was to reach the Saxon monk in his cloister. The moment was well chosen. The new Emperor, who had so many reasons for cultivating friendly relations with the Pope, would no doubt hasten to recommend himself by sacrificing to him an obscure monk. Leo X., the cardinals, and all the partisans of Rome exulted, fancying they saw their enemy at their feet.

While the eternal city was thus agitated, events of more tranquil character were passing at Wittemberg. Melancthon was shedding there a soft, but brilliant light. Near two thousand auditors from Germany, England, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Hungary, and Greece, were frequently assembled around him. He was twenty-four years of age, and had not taken orders. Every house in Wittemberg was open to this young professor, so learned, and at the same time so amiable. Foreign universities, Ingolstadt in particular, sought to attract him within their walls. His friends at Wittemberg resolved to retain him among them, by inducing

* Sub prædictis pœnis, præfatum Lutherum, complices adhærentes, receptatores et fautores, personaliter capiant et ad nos mittant. (Bulla Leonis, loc. cit.)

him to marry. Although he desired a partner for his dear Philip, Luther declared he would not be his adviser in this affair. Others took that part upon themselves. The young doctor was a frequent visitor at the house of the burgomaster Krapp, who belonged to an ancient family. Krapp had a daughter named Catherine, of a mild and amiable character, and great sensibility. Melancthon's friends urged him to ask her in marriage; but the young scholar was buried in his books, and would not hear of any thing else. His Greek authors, and his Testament, formed his delight. He met the arguments of his friends with other arguments. At length his consent was obtained. The necessary steps were taken for him by his friends, and Catherine was given to him for a wife. He received her very coldly,* and said with a sigh: "God has then willed it so! I must forego my studies and my pleasures, in compliance with the wishes of my friends."† Yet he was not insensible to Catherine's merits. "Her character and education," said he, "are such as I might have desired of God. δεξιᾷ ὁ Θεὸς τεκμαίροιτό.‡ And truly she is deserving of a better husband." The match was agreed on during the month of August; the espousals took place on the 25th of September, and at the end of November, the marriage was celebrated. Old John Luther, with

* Uxor enim datur mihi non dico quam frigenti. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 211.)

† Ego meis studiis, mea me voluptate fraudo. (Ibid. i. p. 265.)

‡ May God bring the affair to a happy issue! (Ibid. i. p. 212.)

his wife and daughters, came to Wittemberg on this occasion;* and many learned and distinguished persons attended at the celebration of the wedding.

The young bride was as remarkable for her warmth of affection as the young professor for his coldness of manner. Ever full of anxiety for her husband, Catherine was alarmed by the least appearance of danger to the object of her affection. When Melancthon proposed to take any step that might compromise his safety, she overwhelmed him with entreaties to renounce his intention. "I was obliged," wrote Melancthon, on one of these occasions, "I was obliged to yield to her weakness,—it is our lot." How many instances of unfaithfulness in the Church may have a similar origin! Perhaps to the influence of Catherine we should attribute the timidity and fears for which her husband has been often blamed. Catherine was no less tender and affectionate as a mother than as a wife. She gave liberally to the poor. "Forsake me not, O God; when I am old and grey-headed!" Such was the ordinary ejaculation of this pious and timid soul. The heart of Melancthon was soon won over by the affection of his wife. When he had once tasted the sweets of domestic life, he became fully sensible of their value. He was formed indeed to relish them, and no where was he more happy than with his Catherine and his children. A French traveller, having one day

* Parentes mei cum sororibus nuptias honorarunt Philippi. (L. Epp. i. 528.)

found the "master of Germany" rocking the cradle of his child with one hand and holding a book in the other, started with surprise. But Melancthon, without being disconcerted, explained to him with so much earnestness the high value of children in the sight of God, that the stranger left the house wiser, to use his own words, than he had entered it.

The marriage of Melancthon added a domestic hearth to the Reformation. There was thenceforward in Wittemberg one family whose house was open to all those who were breathing the new life. The concourse of strangers was immense.* People came to Melancthon concerning a thousand different matters; and the established rule was to refuse nothing to any one.† The young professor was especially disinterested on occasions of doing good. When his money was spent he would secretly part with his table service to some dealer, but little concerning himself for the loss of it, so that he might have wherewithal to relieve the distressed.

Accordingly, "it would have been impossible," says his friend Camerarius, "to have provided for his own wants and those of his family, if a divine and hidden blessing had not furnished him from time to time with the means." His good-nature was extreme. He had some ancient gold and silver medals, remarkable for their legends and impressions. One day he was shewing them to a stranger who was on

* Videres in ædibus illis perpetuo accedentes et introeuntes et discedentes atque exeuntes aliquos. (Camerar. Vita Melancth. p. 40.)

† Ea domus disciplina erat, ut nihil cuiquam negaretur. (Ibid.)

a visit. "Take any one you would like," said Melancthon to him.—"I would like them all," answered the stranger. "I own," says Philip, "I was at first offended at this unreasonable request: nevertheless, I gave them to him."

There was in the writings of Melancthon a delightful odour of antiquity, which gave them an inexpressible charm, while it did not prevent the savour of Christ from being at the same time exhaled from every part of them. There is not one of his letters to his friends, in which one is not naturally reminded of the wisdom of Homer, of Plato, of Cicero, and of Pliny,—CHRIST remaining always his Master and his God. Spalatin had desired of him an explanation of this saying of Jesus Christ: "Without me, ye can do nothing." (John xv. 5.) Melancthon referred him to Luther. "'Cur agam gestum spectante Roscio,' to use the words of Cicero,"† said he. He then continues: "The passage teaches that we must be absorbed by Christ, so that we ourselves should no longer act, but that Christ should live in us. As the divine nature has been made one body with man in Christ, so should man be incorporated by faith with Jesus Christ."

This celebrated scholar usually retired to rest shortly after supper. At two or three o'clock in the morning he was at work.‡ It was during these early studies that his best works were composed. His

* Sed dedisse nihilominus illos. (Ibid. p. 43.)

† "Why should I speak in the presence of Roscius?" (Corp. Reform. Ep. Apr. 13, 1520.)

‡ Surgebat mox aut non longo intervallo post mediam noctem. (Camerar. p. 56.)

manuscripts were usually laid on his table, exposed in view of all who went in and out, so that he was robbed of several of them. When he had invited any friends to his house, he requested one or other of them, before sitting down to table, to read some short composition, either in prose or verse. When he made a journey, he always took with him some young persons as companions. He conversed with them in a manner both instructive and entertaining. If conversation flagged, each was required to recite in turn some passages from the ancient poets. He frequently resorted to irony, tempering it, however, by much sweetness. "He does but prick the skin," said he, speaking of himself, "he never inflicts a wound."

Learning was his passion. The great object of his life was to diffuse a love of letters and general information. Let us not forget that the literature highest in his estimation was the Holy Scripture, and only subordinately the literature of the heathen. "I devote myself," said he, "to one thing only; the defence of learning. We must by our example kindle the admiration of youth for knowledge, and lead them to love it for its own sake, not for the gain that is to be made of it. The ruin of letters brings with it the destruction of all that is good: religion, morals, the things of God and the things of man. . . . . .* The better a man is, the greater is his desire to preserve knowledge; for he knows that of all plagues ignorance is the most pernicious."

* Religionem, mores, humana divinaque omnia labefactat literarum inscitia. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 207, July 22, 1520.)

Some time after his marriage Melancthon went to Bretten, in the Palatinate, in company with Camerarius and some other friends, on a visit to his affectionate mother. As soon as he caught a view of his native town, he alighted, and kneeling down thanked God, for having permitted him to see it once more. Margaret, embracing her son, almost swooned for joy. She pressed him to fix his abode at Bretten, and was urgent in entreaties that he would continue in the faith of his fathers. Melancthon excused himself, but with much moderation and reserve, from fear of wounding his mother's conscience. He grieved at parting from her; and whenever any traveller brought him news from his native town, he was as merry, he said, as if going back to childhood itself. Such, in the touching privacy of domestic life, was the man who was one of the chief instruments of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

The family peace and busy studies of Wittemberg were shortly after disturbed by a tumult. The students quarrelled and came to blows with the citizens. The rector betrayed great want of energy. The grief of Melancthon on witnessing the excesses of these disciples of learning may be easily imagined. Luther was indignant. His was not the character that would conciliate by undue concessions. The disgrace these disorders brought upon the University deeply wounded him.* He ascended the pulpit, and preached with great force against these seditions; calling on both parties to submit

* Urit me ista confusio academiæ nostræ. (L. Epp. i. p. 467.)

themselves to the magistrates.* His discourse occasioned great irritation. "Satan," said he, "not being able to prevail against us from without, seeks to injure us from within. I do not fear him; but I fear lest the anger of God should fall upon us for not having fully received his word. In these last three years, I have been thrice exposed to great danger: in 1518 at Augsburg, in 1519 at Leipsic, and now in 1520, at Wittemberg. It is neither by wisdom, nor by violence, that the renovation of the Church will be accomplished, but by humble prayer, and a bold faith, that shall range Jesus Christ on our side.† O my friend, join thy prayers to mine, that the evil spirit may not be permitted to use this little spark, to kindle a vast conflagration."

But more terrible conflicts awaited Luther.—Rome was brandishing the sword, with which she was about to strike the preacher of the Gospel. The rumour of the condemnation which was about to fall upon him, far from depressing the Reformer, increased his courage. He took no pains to parry the stroke of this haughty power. It is by striking yet more terrible blows himself, that he will baffle those of his adversaries. While the Transalpine congregations were fulminating their anathemas against him, he was planning to carry the sword of the word into the midst of the Italian states. Letters from Venice spoke of the favour with which the opinions of Luther were there received. He ardently desired to send the Gospel beyond the Alps.

* Commendans potestatem magistratuum. (L. Epp. i. p. 467.)

† —— Nec prudentia nec armis, sed humili oratione et forti fide, quibus obtineamus Christum pro nobis. (Ibid. p. 469.)

But evangelists were required to be the bearers of it. "I could wish," said he, "that we had living books, that is to say, preachers,* and that we could multiply and protect them in all places, that they might convey to the people the knowledge of divine things. The Prince could not undertake a work more worthy of himself. If the people of Italy were to receive the truth, our cause would then be unassailable." It does not appear that this project of Luther was realized. At a later period, it is true, some preachers of the Gospel, Calvin himself among others, resided for a while in Italy; but at this time no steps were taken to accomplish Luther's plan. He had looked for help to one of the princes of this world. Had he appealed to men in humble station, but full of zeal for the kingdom of God, the result might have been very different. At the period we are recording, the idea was general that every thing must be done by governments; and the association of private individuals, an agency by which in our days such great things are accomplished in Christendom, was almost unknown.

If Luther was not successful in his plans for spreading the knowledge of the truth to distant countries, he was but the more zealous in preaching it at home. It was at this time that he delivered, at Wittemberg, his discourse on the office of the mass.† In this discourse he declaimed against the numerous sects of the Romish Church

* Si vivos libros, hoc est concionatores possemus multiplicare.—(L. Epp. i. p. 491.)

† L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 490.

and reproached her, with justice, for her want of unity.

"The multiplicity of laws in matters of conscience," he exclaims, "has filled the world with sects and divisions. The hatred thence engendered between priests, monks, and laity, is even greater than that which exists between Christians and Turks. Nay more than this; priests are mortal enemies to priests, and monks to monks. Each is devoted to his own sect, and despises all others. The unity and love of Christ is broken up and destroyed."—He then attacks the opinion that the mass is a sacrifice and has any power in itself.—"The better part of every sacrifice, and consequently of the Lord's Supper," he says, "is in the word and the promises of God. Without faith in this word and in these promises, the sacrament is but dead; it is a body without a soul, a cup without wine, a purse without money, a type without fulfilment, a letter without meaning, a casket without jewels, a sheath without a sword."

The voice of Luther was not, however, confined within the limits of Wittemberg, and if he did not find missionaries to carry his instructions to distant parts, God had provided a missionary of a new kind. Printing was destined to supply the place of preachers of the Gospel. The press was to constitute a battery which should open a breach in the Roman fortress. The mine had been charged by Luther, and the explosion shook the edifice of Rome to its foundations. His famous tract on the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, appeared on the 6th

of October, 1520.* Never had any one evinced such courage in circumstances so critical.

In this work he begins by setting forth, with admirable irony, all the advantages for which he was indebted to his enemies :—

"Whether I will or no," says he, "I learn more and more every day, urged on as I am by so many celebrated masters. Two years ago I attacked indulgences; but with such faltering indecision that I am now ashamed of it. It, however, is not to be wondered at; for then I had to roll forward the rock by myself."

He then returns thanks to Prierias, to Eck, to Emser, and to his other adversaries. "I denied," he continued, "that the Papacy was from God, but admitted that it stood by human right. But now, after having read all the subtleties on which these worthies set up their idol, I know that the Papacy is nothing but the reign of Babylon, and the violence of the mighty hunter Nimrod. I therefore request all my friends, and all booksellers, that they will burn the books I have before written on this subject, and in their stead substitute this single proposition :—'The Papacy is a general chase, led by the Bishop of Rome, and having for its object the snaring and ruining of souls.'"†

Luther afterwards attacks the errors that prevailed with respect to the sacraments, monastic vows, &c. He reduces the seven sacraments of the

* L. Opp. lat. ii. 63, et Leips, xvii. p. 511.

† Papatus est robusta venatio Romani episcopi. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 64.)

Church to three; Baptism, Penitence, and the Lord's Supper. He explains the true nature of the latter. He then passes on to baptism, and it is here especially that he establishes the excellence of *Faith*, and makes a powerful attack upon Rome. "God," he says, "has preserved to us this sacrament alone pure from human traditions. God has said: 'He that *believeth*, and is baptized, shall be saved.' This promise of God ought to be preferred to all the glory of works, to all vows, satisfactions, indulgences, and every thing which man has invented. Now on this promise, received by faith, depends our salvation. If we believe, our heart is strengthened by the divine promise; and though a believer should be bereft of all beside, this promise which he believes will never forsake him. With this he will be able to withstand the adversary who assaults his soul. It will be his support in the hour of death, and his plea at the judgment-seat of God. In all his trials it will be his consolation that he can say: God is faithful to his promise: I have received the pledge of it in baptism: if God is for me, who can be against me? Oh, how rich is the baptized Christian! nothing can ruin him, but his own refusal to *believe*.

"Perhaps the baptism of little children may be objected to what I say as to the necessity of faith. But as the word of God is mighty to change the heart of an ungodly person, who is not less deaf, nor less helpless than an infant—so the prayer of the Church, to which all things are possible, changes the little child, by the operation of the *faith* which

God pours into his soul, and thus purifies and renews it."*

Having explained the doctrine of baptism, Luther makes use of it as a weapon against the Papacy. If the Christian really finds all his salvation in renewal by baptism *through faith*, what need has he of the prescriptions of Rome?

"For this reason," says Luther, "I declare that neither Pope, nor bishop, nor any other man living, has authority to impose the least thing upon a Christian without his own consent. Whatever is done otherwise, is done by an arbitrary assumption.† We are free from all men. The vow which we have made in baptism is of itself sufficient, and more than we can ever fulfil.‡ All other vows, then, may be dispensed with. Let whoever enters into the priesthood or joins a monastic order, be assured that the labours of a monk or of a priest, however arduous, differ in no respect, as to their value in the sight of God, from those of a peasant working in his field, or of a woman attending to the duties of her house.§ God esteems all things

* Sicut enim verbum Dei potens est dum sonat, etiam impii cor immutare, quod non minus surdum et incapax quam ullus parvulus, ita per orationem Ecclesiæ offerentis et credentis, parvulus fide infusa mutatur, mundatur et renovatur. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 77.)

† Dico itaque, neque papa, neque episcopus, neque ullus hominum habet jus unius syllabæ constituendæ super Christianum hominem, nisi id fiat ejusdem consensu; quidquid aliter fit, tyrannico spiritu fit. (Ibid. p. 77.)

‡ Generali edicto tollere vota—abunde enim vovimus in baptismo, et plus quam possimus implere. (Ibid. p. 78.)

§ Opera quantum libet sacra et ardua religiosorum et sacerdotum, in oculis Dei prorsus nihil distare ab operibus rustici in agro laborantis aut mulieris in domo sua curantis. (Ibid.)

according to the faith whence they proceed. And it often happens that the simple labour of a serving man or woman is more acceptable to God than the fastings and works of a monk, because in these last faith is wanting. Christian people are the true people of God, carried captive to Babylon, and there stripped of what they had acquired by their baptism."

Such were the means by which the religious revolution, we are relating, was accomplished. The necessity of faith was first established, and then the Reformers applied it to demolish and bring to dust the prevailing superstitions. It was with that power, which is of God, and which can remove mountains, that they advanced against so many errors. These words of Luther, and many other similar appeals, circulating far and wide through cities, convents, and country places, became the leaven which leavened the whole mass.

Luther terminated this work on the Babylonian Captivity with these words :—

" I hear that new papal excommunications have been concocted against me. If this be so, this book may be regarded as a part of my future ' recantation.' The rest will follow shortly, in proof of my obedience, and the whole will, by Christ's help, form a collection such as Rome has never yet seen or heard of."

After this, all hope of reconciliation between the Pope and Luther must necessarily have vanished. The incompatibility of the faith of the Reformer with the Church's teaching could not but be evident to the least discerning. But at this very time

fresh negociations had just commenced. About the end of August, 1520, and five weeks before the publication of the "Babylonian Captivity," the chapter of the Augustines was asembled at Eisleben. The venerable Staupitz resigned on this occasion the office of Vicar-general of the order, and Wenceslaus Link, who had accompanied Luther to Augsburg, was invested with that dignity. The indefatigable Miltitz arrived suddenly during the sitting of the chapter.* He was eagerly bent on reconciling the Pope and Luther. His self-love, his avarice, but above all his jealousy and hatred were interested therein. The vain-glorious boasting of Eck had thrown him into the shade; he knew that the doctor of Ingolstadt had disparaged him at Rome, and he would have made any sacrifice to baffle the plots of his troublesome rival by the prompt conclusion of peace. The religious bearing of the question gave him little or no concern. One day, as he himself relates, he was at table with the bishop of Meissen; and the guests had drank pretty freely, when a new work of Luther was brought in. It was opened and read; the bishop went into a passion; the official swore; but Miltitz laughed heartily.† Miltitz dealt with the Reformation as a man of the world: Eck as a theologian.

Stimulated by the arrival of Dr. Eck, Miltitz addressed to the chapter of the Augustines a dis-

* Nondum tot pressus difficultatibus animum desponderat Miltitius—dignus profecto non mediocri laude. (Pallavicini, i. p. 68.)

† Der Bischof entrüstet, der Official gefluchet, et aber gelachet habe. (Seckend. p. 266.)

course delivered with a very marked Italian accent,* thinking by this means to impose upon his good countrymen. "The whole order of the Augustines is compromised in this affair," said he: "Point out to me, I pray you, some means of restraining Luther."† "We have nothing to do with the doctor," answered the fathers, "and we should not know what advice to give you." They rested their answer, doubtless, on the fact of Luther having been released by Staupitz at Augsburg from his obligations as concerned their order. Miltitz persisted. "Let a deputation of this venerable chapter wait on Luther, and request him to write a letter to the Pope, assuring him that he has never laid any plots against his person.‡ That will suffice to terminate the affair." The chapter yielded to the proposal of the Nuncio, and commissioned, doubtless at his desire, Staupitz the late Vicar-general, and Link his successor, to confer with Luther. The deputation set out immediately for Wittemberg, bearing a letter from Miltitz addressed to the doctor, and full of expressions of high respect. "There was no time to lose," said he, "the thunder, already suspended over the head of the Reformer, was about to burst; and then all would be over."

Neither Luther, nor the deputies, who were favourable to his opinions,§ entertained a hope that

* Orationem habuit italica pronuntiatione vestitam. (L. Epp. i. p. 483.)

† Petens consilium super me compescendo. (Ibid.)

‡ Nihil me in personam suam fuisse molitum. (Ibid. p. 484.)

§ Quibus omnibus causa mea non displicet. (Ibid. p. 486.)

any thing would be gained by writing to the Pope. But this in itself was a reason for not refusing compliance with the suggestion. The letter could but be a matter of form which would make still more apparent the justice of Luther's cause. "This Italian of Saxony (Miltitz)," thought Luther, "has doubtless his own private interest in view in making this request. Well, be it so; I will write in strict conformity with truth, that I have never entertained any design against the Pope's person. I must be on my guard, and not be too stern in my hostility to the see of Rome. Yet it shall be sprinkled with salt."*

But shortly after this, the doctor heard of the arrival of the bull in Germany; on the 3rd of October he declared to Spalatin that he would not write to the Pope, and on the 6th of the same month he published his book on the "Babylonian Captivity." Still Miltitz was not disheartened.—His wish to humble Eck made him dream of impossibilities. On the 2nd of October he had written in full confidence to the Elector: "All will go well; but for God's sake, do not any longer delay paying me the pension which you and your brother have allowed me for some years past. I must have money to gain new friends at Rome. Write to the Pope, present the young cardinals, his relations, with gold and silver pieces of your Electoral Highness's coin, and add some for me; for I have been robbed of what you had given me."†

* Aspergetur tamen sale suo (L. Epp. i. p. 486.)

† Den Pabst's Nepoten, zwei oder drei Churfürstliche Gold und Silbersütcke, zu verehren. (Seckend. p. 267.)

Even after Luther had heard of the bull, the intriguing Miltitz was not discouraged. He requested a conference with Luther at Lichtenberg. The Elector ordered the latter to repair thither.* But his friends, and above all the affectionate Melancthon, opposed his going.† "What," thought they, "at the moment of the appearance of the bull which enjoins all to seize Luther, that he may be taken to Rome, shall he accept a conference, in a secluded place, with the Pope's Nuncio! Is it not clear that Dr. Eck, not being able to approach the Reformer, because he has made his hatred too public, the crafty chamberlain has undertaken to snare Luther in his toils?"

These fears could not restrain the doctor of Wittemberg. The Prince had commanded, and he resolved to obey. "I am setting out for Lichtenberg," he wrote on the 11th of October to the chaplain: "Pray for me." His friends would not desert him. On the same day, towards evening, Luther entered Lichtenberg on horseback, surrounded by thirty horsemen, amongst whom was Melancthon. About the same time, the Pope's Nuncio arrived, attended only by four persons.‡ Might not this modest escort be a stratagem to inspire Luther and his friends with confidence?

Miltitz was urgent in his solicitations; he assured Luther that the blame would be thrown on Eck and his foolish boastings,§ and that all would

* Sicut princeps ordinavit. (L. Epp. i. p. 455.)

† Invito præceptore (Melancthon) nescio quanta metuente. (Ib.)

‡ Jener von mehr als dreissig, dieser aber kaum mit vier Pferden begleitet. (Seckend. p. 268.)

§ Totum pondus in Eccium versurus. (L. Epp. i. p. 496.)

be arranged to the satisfaction of both parties. "Well!" answered Luther, "I offer to keep silence for the future, if my adversaries will but do the same. I will do all I can to maintain it."*

Miltitz was overjoyed. He accompanied Luther as far as Wittemberg. The Reformer and the Papal Nuncio entered the city side by side, while Dr. Eck was drawing near it, holding, in menacing hands, the formidable bull, which, it was hoped, would extinguish the Reformation. "We shall bring the affair to a happy issue," wrote Miltitz forthwith to the Elector: "thank the Pope for his rose, and send at the same time forty or fifty florins to the cardinal *Quatuor Sanctorum*."†

Luther, in fulfilment of his promise, was to write to the Pope. Before bidding an eternal farewell to Rome, he resolved once more to address to her some weighty and salutary truths. His letter may perhaps be regarded by some as a mere caustic composition, a bitter and insulting satire; but this would be to mistake his feelings. It was his conviction that to Rome were to be attributed all the ills of Christendom: bearing that in view, his words are, not insults, but solemn warnings. The more he loves Leo, the more he loves the church of Christ; he resolves therefore to disclose the greatness of the evil. The energy of his affection may be inferred from the strength of his expressions. The moment is arrived for heavy blows. He reminds us of a prophet, for the last time, traversing

* Ut nihil videar omittere quod in me ad pacem quoquo modo facere possit. (L. Epp. i. p. 496.)

† Seckend. p. 268.

the city, reproaching it with all its abominations, revealing to it the judgments of the Eternal, and crying aloud: "Yet a few days!"—The following is the letter:

"To the Most Holy Father in God, Leo X. Pope of Rome, all happiness and prosperity in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

"From the midst of this violent contest, which for these three years past, I have waged with abandoned men, I cannot refrain from sometimes turning my eyes towards you, O Leo, Most Holy Father in God! And although the madness of your impious parasites, has compelled me to appeal from your sentence to a future Council, my heart has never been turned away from your Holiness; and I have never ceased, by prayers and sighs, to pray to God for your prosperity, and for that of your pontificate.*

"I have attacked, it is true, some Anti-christian doctrines, and I have inflicted some deep wounds on my adversaries on account of their impiety. I cannot regret this, for I have in this Christ for an example. Of what use is salt if it hath lost its savour? or the sword-blade, if it doth not cut?† Cursed is he who doth the Lord's work coldly. O most excellent Leo, far from having conceived any evil design against you, I wish you the most precious blessings for all eternity. One thing only have I done. I have defended the word of truth.

* Ut non totis viribus, sedulis atque quantum in me fuit gemebundis precibus apud Deum quæsierim. (L. Epp. i. p. 498.)

† Quid proderit sal, si non mordeat? Quid os gladii, si non cædat? (Ibid. 499.)

I am ready to give way to every one, in every thing; but as regards that Word, I will not—I cannot abandon it.* He who expects otherwise of me, mistakes me.

"It is true that I have attacked the court of Rome; but neither yourself, nor any man upon earth can deny that the corruption of that court is greater than that of Sodom or Gomorrah, and that there is no hope left of curing its impiety. True, I have been filled with horror, beholding that in your name the poor of Christ's flock were deceived. I have opposed this, and will continue to oppose it; not that I dream of effecting any thing in this Babylon of confusion, against the opposition of sycophants; but I am debtor to my brethren, that, if possible, some of them may escape these terrible scourges.

"You know that Rome, for many years past, has inundated the world with every thing destructive to soul and body. The Church of Rome, formerly pre-eminent for sanctity, is become a den of thieves, a scene of open prostitution, a kingdom of death and hell,† so that Antichrist himself, if he were to appear, could not increase its iniquity. All this is as clear as the light of day.

"And you, O Leo, are all this while as a lamb in the midst of wolves; or as Daniel in the den of lions! Unaided, how can you resist these monsters? Perhaps there may be three or four cardinals uniting virtue with learning. But what are these

* Verbum deserere et negare nec possum, nec volo. (L. Epp. i. p. 499.)

† Facta est—spelunca latronum licentiosissima, lupanar omnium impudentissimum regnum, peccati, mortis et inferni. (Ibid. p. 500.)

among so many! You will be taken off by poison, even before you are able to apply a remedy. There is no hope for Rome; the anger of God has gone forth and will consume her.* She hates reproof, and dreads reform; she refuses to restrain the madness of her impiety, and it may be said of her as of her mother: 'We would have healed Babylon but she is not healed: let us forsake her!'† Men looked to you and your cardinals to apply the cure to all this; but the patient laughs at her physician, and the steed will not answer to the reins.

"Full of affection for you, most excellent Leo, I have ever regretted that, formed as you are for a better age, you have been raised to the pontificate at such a period as this. Rome is not worthy of you, or of any who resemble you; she deserves no other ruler than Satan himself. And truly it is he rather than yourself, who reigns in that Babylon. Would to God, that, laying aside the glory which your enemies extol so highly, you could exchange it for a simple pastorship, or subsist on your paternal inheritance; for none but Judases are fit for such state. What end then, dear Leo! is served by you in this court of Rome; unless it be, that execrable men should, under cover of your name and power, ruin men's fortunes, destroy souls, multiply crimes, and lord it over the faith, the truth, and the whole Church of God? O Leo! Leo! you are the most unfortunate of men, and you sit on the most perilous of all thrones! I tell you the truth, because I wish you well.

* Actum est de Romana curia: pervenit in eam ira Dei usque in finem. (L. Epp. i. p. 500.) † Jeremiah, li. 9.

"Is it not true that there is nothing under heaven more corrupt and hateful than the Roman court? It exceeds the very Turks in vice and profligacy, Once as the gate of heaven, it is become the jaws of hell itself! distending and kept open by the wrath of God,* so that when I behold so many poor creatures throwing themselves into it, I must needs cry aloud in the midst of this tempest that some may be saved from the frightful abyss.

"This, O Leo, my Father, is the reason why I have inveighed so strongly against a see which dispenses death to its adherents. Far from conspiring against your person, I have felt that I was labouring for your safety, in boldly attacking the prison, or rather the hell, in which you are confined. To do the utmost to destroy the court of Rome, is but to discharge your own duty. To cover it with shame, is to honour Christ; in a word, to be a Christian, is to be *not a Roman.*

"However, seeing that I was losing my time in succouring the See of Rome, I sent to her my letter of divorce, saying; Farewell, Rome, 'he that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he who is filthy, let him be filthy still!'† and then, in silence, and retirement, applied myself to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Then it was that Satan stirred up his servant John Eck, a great enemy of Jesus Christ, to challenge me again to descend into the arena. He sought to establish his own primacy, not the primacy of Peter! and with this purpose, to con-

* Olim janua cœli, nunc patens quoddam os inferni et tale os, quod, urgenteira Dei, obstrui non potest. (L. Epp. i. p. 501.)

† Revelation of St. John, xxii. 11.

quer Luther, and lead him in triumph to Rome, Upon him must lay the blame of the defeat which has covered Rome with shame."

Luther here relates what had passed between himself and De Vio, Miltitz, and Eck; he then continues:

"Now then I come to you, most holy Father, and, prostrate at your feet, entreat you to restrain, if possible, the enemies of peace. But I cannot retract my doctrines. I cannot consent that rules of interpretation should be imposed on Holy Scripture. The word of God, the source whence all liberty flows, must be left free.*

"O Leo! my Father! do not listen to the flatterers who tell you that you are not a mere man, but a demi-god, and that you may rightfully command whatever you please. You are the '*servant of servants*,' and the place where you are seated is of all places the most dangerous and the most miserable. Put no faith in those who exalt you, but rather in those who would humble you. I may be bold in presuming to teach so sublime a Majesty, which ought to instruct all men. But I see the dangers which surround you at Rome; I see you driven first one way, then another, on the billows of a raging sea; and charity obliges me to warn you of your danger, and urge you to provide for your safety.

"That I may not appear in your Holiness's presence, empty-handed, I present you with a little book which has been dedicated to you, and which will apprise you with what subjects I may occupy

* Leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cum oporteat verbum, Dei esse non alligatum, quod libertatem docet. (L. Epp. i. p. 504.)

myself—in case your flatterers shall permit me. It is but a trifle in appearance, yet its contents are important: for it comprises a summary of the Christian life. I am poor, and have nothing more to offer you; and indeed is there anything you have need of, save *spiritual* gifts? I commend myself to the remembrance of your Holiness, praying that the Lord Jesus may ever preserve you! Amen!"

The little book which Luther presented in token of respect to the Pope, was his discourse of 'the liberty of the Christian.' The Reformer shews incontrovertibly in this treatise, that the Christian, without infringement of the liberty which faith gives him, may submit to every external ordinance, in a spirit of liberty and love. Two truths are the basis of his argument: "A Christian is free, and all things are his. A Christian is a servant, and subject in all things unto all. He is free, and has all things by faith; he is a subject and a servant in love."

He first shews the power of faith in rendering the Christian *free*: "Faith unites the soul with Christ, as a spouse with her husband," says Luther to the Pope. "Every thing which Christ has, becomes the property of the believing soul: every thing which the soul has, becomes the property of Christ. Christ possesses all blessings and eternal life: they are thenceforward the property of the soul. The soul has all its iniquities and sins: they are thenceforward borne by Christ. A blessed exchange commences: Christ who is both God and man, Christ who has never sinned, and whose holiness is invincible, Christ the Almighty and

Eternal, taking to himself by his nuptial ring of *Faith*, all the sins of the believer, those sins are lost and abolished in him; for no sins dwell before his infinite righteousness. Thus by faith the believer's soul is delivered from all sins, and clothed with the eternal righteousness of her bridegroom, Christ. O happy union! the rich, the noble, the holy bridegroom takes in marriage his poor, guilty and despised spouse,* delivers her from every evil, and enriches her with the most precious blessings.—Christ, a king and priest, shares this honour and glory with all Christians. The Christian is a king, and consequently possesses all things; he is a priest, and consequently possesses God. And it is *faith*, not works, which brings him all this honour. A Christian is free from all things,—above all things,—faith giving him richly of all things!"

In the second part of his discourse, Luther presents the other side of the truth. "Although the Christian is thus made free, he voluntarily becomes a servant, that he may act towards his brethren as God has acted towards himself by Jesus Christ." "I will serve," he says, "freely, joyfully, gratuitously, a Father who has thus shed upon me all the abundance of his blessings: I will become all things to my neighbour, as Christ has become all things for me."—"From *Faith*," continues Luther, "flows the *love* of God; from love flows a life of liberty, charity, and joy. O how noble and exalted is the Christian's life! but, alas! none know it,

* Ist nun das nicht eine fröhliche Wirthschaft, da der reiche, edle, fromme Bräutigam Christus, das arme, verachtete, böse Huhrlein zur Ehe nimmt. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 385.)

and none preach it. By faith the Christian ascends to God; by love he descends to man; and yet abides ever in God. Such is true liberty, a liberty which as much surpasses every other as the heavens are high above the earth."

This was the work with which Luther accompanied his letter to Leo X.

While the Reformer was thus addressing himself for the last time to the Roman Pontiff, the bull which excommunicated him was already in the hands of the dignitaries of the German Church, and at the doors of Luther's dwelling. The Pope had commissioned two high functionaries of his court, Carracioli and Aleander, to carry it to the Archbishop of Mentz, desiring him to see to its execution. But Eck himself appeared in Saxony as herald and agent in the great effort of the Pontiff. The doctor of Ingolstadt had had better opportunities than any other of knowing the force of Luther's blows; he had seen the danger, and had stretched forth his hand to support the tottering power of Rome. He imagined himself the Atlas destined to bear up on his robust shoulders the old Roman world, which was ready to crumble into ruin. Elated with the success of his journey to Rome, proud of the commission which he had received from the Sovereign Pontiff, and of the bull he bore in his hands, and which contained the condemnation of his unconquerable rival, his present mission was in his eyes a greater triumph than all the victories he had gained in Hungary, in Bavaria, in Lombardy, and Saxony, and from which he had previously derived so much credit. But all

this pride was about to be humbled. By entrusting to Eck the publication of the bull, the Pope had committed an error which was destined to destroy its impression. So marked a distinction, granted to a man who did not hold any elevated rank in the Church, offended minds that were susceptible of offence. The Roman Bishops, accustomed to receive the bulls of the Pope direct, took it amiss that the present bull should be published in their dioceses by this unexpected Nuncio. The nation which had ridiculed the pretended victor in the conferences at Leipsic, when he fled to Italy, saw with astonishment and indignation the same person re-appear on this side the Alps, armed with the insignia of a pontifical Nuncio, and with power to crush men whom it held in honour. Luther regarded this sentence, conveyed to him by his implacable adversary, as an act of personal vindictiveness. This condemnation appeared to him, says Pallavicini, as the concealed poniard of a mortal enemy, and not the lawful axe of a Roman lictor.* Accordingly this writing was considered, not as the bull of the Sovereign Pontiff, but as the bull of Dr. Eck. Thus the force of the blow was broken by the very motives which had provoked it.

The chancellor of Ingolstadt had repaired in haste to Saxony. It was there that he had given battle, it was there that he wished to parade his victory. He succeeded in getting the bull posted up at Meissen, at Merseburg, and at Brandenburg, toward the end of September. But in the first of

* Non tanquam a securi legitimi lictoris, sed telo infensissimi hostis. (Pallavicini, i. p. 74.)

these towns it was placarded in a place where nobody could read it, and the bishops of these three dioceses were in no haste to publish it. His great protector, Duke George himself, forbade the council of Leipsic to make it public before they had received the order of the bishop of Merseburg, and this order did not arrive till the following year. "These difficulties are but for form's sake," thought Eck at first; for in other respects every thing seemed to smile upon him. Duke George sent him a gilt cup and a few ducats; Miltitz himself, who had hastened to Leipsic on hearing that his rival was arrived, invited him to dinner. The two legates were fond of the luxuries of the table, and Miltitz thought that he could not have a better opportunity of sounding Dr. Eck than over their wine. "When he had drunk pretty freely," says the Pope's chamberlain, "he began to boast above measure; he displayed his bull, and told how he had planned to bring that insolent fellow, Martin, to reason."* But it was not long before the doctor of Ingolstadt had occasion to observe that the wind was turning. A great change had been effected at Leipsic within a year.† On St. Michael's day, some students posted, in ten different places, placards wherein the new Nuncio was keenly attacked. Taking the alarm, he sought refuge in the convent of St. Paul, where Tetzel had already found an asylum, refused all visits, and obtained from the

* Nachdem (writes Miltitz) er nun tapfer getrunken hatte, fieng er gleich an trefflich von seiner Ordre zu prahlen, &c. (Seckend. p. 238.)

† Longe aliam faciem et mentem Lipsiæ eum invenire quam sperasset. (L. Epp. i. p. 492.)

prior a promise that his juvenile opponents should be called to account. But poor Eck gained little by this. The students composed a ballad upon him, and sung it in the streets. Eck overheard it from his seclusion. At this all his courage vanished, and the formidable champion trembled in every limb. Threatening letters poured in upon him. A hundred and fifty students arrived from Wittemberg, loudly exclaiming against the Papal envoy. The poor Nuncio could hold out no longer.

"I do not wish him to be killed,"* said Luther, "but I hope his designs will be frustrated." Eck quitted his retreat by night, retired clandestinely from Leipsic, and sought to conceal himself at Coburg. Miltitz, who relates the circumstance, seemed to triumph in it even more than the Reformer. But his triumph did not last long. The chamberlain's plans of conciliation all failed, and his end was deplorable, having, while in a state of intoxication, fallen into the Rhine at Mentz.

By degrees Eck resumed courage. He repaired to Erfurth, where the theologians had shewn more than one mark of their jealousy of the Wittemberg doctor. He required that this bull should be published in that city; but the students seized the copies, tore them in pieces, and threw them into the river, saying: "Since it is a bubble, let us see it float!"† "Now," said Luther, on hearing of this, "the paper of the Pope is truly a bubble (*bulla*)."

* Nollem eum occidi, quanquam optem ejus consilia irrita fieri. (L. Epp. i. p. 492.)

† A studiosis discerpta et in aquam projecta, dicentibus: Bulla est, in aquam natet! (Ibid. p. 520.)

Eck did not dare to shew himself at Wittemberg: he sent the bull to the prior, menacing him, if it were not complied with, with the ruin of the university. He wrote at the same time to Duke John, brother and colleague of Frederic: "Do not take my proceeding amiss," said he, "for I am contending for the faith, and my task costs me much care and labour as well as money."* The prior declared, that not having received a letter from the Pope accompanying the bull, he must object to publish it, and referred the matter to the opinion of the lawyers. Such was the reception which the condemnation of the Reformer met with from the learned world.

While the bull was producing this violent agitation in the minds of the Germans, a solemn voice was raised in another country of Europe. One, who discerned the extensive schism the Pope's bull would cause in the Church, stood forth to utter a word of warning and to defend the Reformer. This was the same Swiss priest whom we have already mentioned, Ulric Zwingle, who, without any communication or previous friendship with Luther, put forth a tract replete with discretion and dignity, and the earliest of his numerous writings.† A fraternal affection seemed to attract him towards the doctor of Wittemberg. "The piety of the Pontiff," he said, "requires of him that he

* Mit viel Mühe, Arbeit, und Kosten. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 317.)

† Consilium cujusdam ex animo cupientis esse consultum et pontificis dignitati, et Christianæ religionis tranquillitati. (Zwinglii Opera, curant. Schulero et Schulthessio, iii. p. 1—5.)

should joyfully sacrifice his dearest interests to the glory of Christ his King, and to the general peace of the Church. Nothing is more derogatory to his true dignity than the having recourse only to rewards and terrors for its defence. The writings of Luther had not even been read, before he was decried among the people as a heretic, a schismatic, and even as Antichrist himself. None gave him warning, no one refuted him: he requested a discussion, and it was thought sufficient to condemn him. The bull that has been issued against him is disapproved even by those who respect the Pope's authority; for they discern in every part of it traces of the impotent hatred of a few monks, and not the mildness of a Pontiff who should be the vicar of a Saviour full of charity. It is universally acknowledged, that the current teaching of the Gospel of Christ has greatly degenerated, and that a visible and signal restoration of laws and public morals is requisite.* Consult all men of learning and virtue, and it will be found that the more perfect their sincerity and their attachment to the truths of the Gospel, the less are they stumbled by the books of Luther. There is no one who does not confess that these books have made him a better man,† although, perhaps, there may be some parts not to be approved. Let men of pure doctrine, and of

* Multum degenerasse ab illa sincera Christi evangelica doctrina, adeo ut nemo non fateatur opus esse publica aliqua et insigni legum ac morum instauratione. (Zwinglii Opera, curant. Schulero et Schulthessio, iii. p. 3.)

† Nemo non fatetur se ex illius libris factum esse meliorem. (Ibid. p. 4.)

acknowledged probity, be selected; let three princes above all suspicion, the Emperor Charles, the King of England, and the King of Hungary, appoint arbitrators; and let the arbitrators read the writings of Luther, let him be heard in person, and let whatever they shall determine be ratified! Νικησάιτο ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδέιακαὶ ἀλήθεια!"*

This suggestion proceeding from Switzerland was not attended to. It was necessary that the great divorce should take place; it was needful that Christendom should be rent; the remedy for the evils that oppressed it was to be discovered in its very wounds.

And, indeed, what importance could be attached to this resistance on the part of a few students, priors, and priests? If the strong arm of Charles V. should unite with the power of the Pope, will they not together suffice to crush all these scholars and grammarians? Will any be able to withstand the combined power of the Pontiff of Christendom and of the Emperor of the West? The blow is struck, Luther is excommunicated; the Gospel seems lost! At this awful crisis, the Reformer does not disguise from himself the greatness of the danger in which he is placed. He looks for support from above, and prepares to receive as from the hand of the Lord himself, the blow which seems about to crush him. The thoughts of his soul were gathered before the throne of God. "What is about to happen," said he, "I know not, nor do I care to know, assured as I am that He who sits on the throne of heaven, has from all

* "May the doctrine and truth of Christ gain the victory!"

eternity, foreseen the beginning, the progress, and end of this affair. Let the blow light where it may, I am without fear. Not so much as a leaf falls, without the will of our Father. How much rather will He care for us! It is a light thing to die for the Word, since the Word which was made flesh hath himself died. If we die with him, we shall live with him; and passing through that which he has passed through before us, we shall be where he is and dwell with him for ever."* At times, however, Luther was unable to repress his contempt for the devices of his enemies, and we find in him a recurrence of that mixture of sublimity and irony which characterized his writings. "I know nothing of Eck's movements," said he, "except that he has arrived with a long beard, a long bull, and a long purse—; but I laugh at his bull."†

It was on the third of October that he was made acquainted with the Papal rescript. "At last then this Roman bull has come to hand," said he, "I despise it;—and resist it as impious, false, and in every way worthy of Eck. It is *Christ* himself who is therein condemned. No reasons are given in it; I am cited to appear, not that I may be heard but that I may recant. I will treat it as a forgery, although I believe it genuine. Oh! that Charles the Fifth would act as a man! oh, that for the love of Christ he would humble these demons!‡

* Parum est nos pro verbo mori, cum ipsum incarnatum pro nobis prius mortuum sit. (Ep. i. p. 490.)

† Venisse eum barbatum, bullatum, nummatum—Ridebo et ego bullam sive ampullam. (Ibid. p. 488.)

‡ Utinam Carolus vir esset, et pro Christo hos Satanas aggrederetur (L. Epp. i. p. 494.)

I glory in the prospect of suffering for the best of causes. Already I feel in my heart more liberty; for I now know that the Pope is Antichrist, and that his chair is that of Satan himself."

It was not merely in Saxony that the thunders of Rome had awakened apprehension. A private family in Suabia, which had been neutral in the contest, found its peace suddenly disturbed. Bilibald Pirckheimer, of Nuremberg, one of the most distinguished men of his age, who had lost his beloved wife Crescentia soon after their union, was joined in the closest bonds of affection with his two young sisters, Charitas, abbess of St. Claire, and Clara a nun in the same convent. These two young ladies served God in solitude, and divided their time between study, attendance on the poor, and meditation on eternity. Bilibald, engaged in the business of the state, sought relaxation from public duties in the correspondence which he kept up with them. They were learned, read Latin, and studied the Fathers of the Church; but nothing was so dear to them as the Holy Scriptures. They had never had any other instructor than their brother. The letters of Charitas are distinguished by delicacy and amiable feelings. Full of tender affection for Bilibald, she dreaded the least danger that approached him. Pirckheimer, to re-assure this timid spirit, composed a dialogue between Charitas and Veritas (Charity and Truth), in which Veritas endeavours to strengthen Charitas.* Nothing can be more touching, or more fitted to console an affectionate and anxious heart.

* Pirckheimeri Opp. Francof.

What must have been the dismay of Charitas, when a rumour was spread that the name of Bilibald was posted up immediately under the Pope's bull in conjunction with the name of Luther. In fact, Eck, urged on by blind fury, had associated with Luther six of the most distinguished persons in Germany; namely, Carlstadt, Feldkirchen, and Egranus, who cared very little for his proceedings, and Adelman, Pirckheimer, and his friend Spengler, whose position as public functionaries rendered them peculiarly sensitive to reproach. The agitation was great in the convent of St. Clair. How could the disgrace of Bilibald be endured? Nothing is more painful to relatives than such trials. Pirckheimer and Spengler wrote to the Pope, affirming that they adhered to the doctrines of Luther only so far as they were in conformity with the Christian faith. Revenge and anger had been evil counsellors to Eck. The reputation of Bilibald and his friends brought the bull against them into discredit; and their character and their numerous connections increased the general irritation.

Luther at first pretended to doubt the authenticity of the bull. "I find," said he in his first writing he put forth, "that Eck has brought from Rome another bull, which is so like himself, that it might be named *Doctor Eck*,—so full is it of falsehood and error. He gives out that it is the Pope's doing; whereas it is a mere piece of deception." Having alleged reasons for his doubts, Luther ends by saying: "I require to see with my own eyes the seal, and strings, the very words and signature of the bull, in a word, every thing belonging to it;

otherwise I will not care one straw for these out-cries."*

But no one, not even Luther himself, doubted that the bull was the Pope's. Germany waited to see what the Reformer would do. Would he stand firm? All eyes were turned towards Wittemberg. Luther did not keep them long in suspense. He answered by a tremendous discharge of artillery, publishing on the 4th of November, 1520, his work, "Against the Bull of Antichrist."

"What numberless errors and frauds," said he, "have crept in among the poor deluded people under cover of the Church and the pretended infallibility of the Pope! how many souls have thus been lost! how much blood shed! how many murders committed! how many kingdoms laid waste!"

"I can discern all the difference," said he, ironically, "between skill and malice, and I care very little for malice so unskilful. To burn books is an act so easy that even children may perform it; how much more then the Holy Father and his illustrious doctors.† One would have looked for some more cunning move. Besides, for aught I care, let them destroy my works! I desire nothing better; for all I wanted was to lead Christians to the Bible, that they might afterwards throw away my writings.‡ Great God, if we had but a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, what need would there be of

* Oder nicht ein Haarbreit geben. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 323.)

† So ist Bucher verbrennen so leicht, dass es auch Kinder können, schweig denn der heileige Vater Pabst. . . (L. Opp (L.) xvii. p. 324.)

‡ In Biblien zu führen, dass man derselben Verstand-erlangte, und denn meine Büchlein verschwinden liess. (Ibid.)

my books? By God's grace, I am free, and bulls can neither soothe nor intimidate me. My strength and my consolation are in a place where neither men nor devils can ever reach them."

The tenth proposition of Luther, condemned by the Pope, was couched in these terms: "A man's sins are not pardoned, unless he believes that they are pardoned when the priest pronounces absolution." The Pope, by condemning this proposition, denied that faith was necessary in the sacrament. "They pretend," exclaims Luther, "that we are not to believe that our sins are pardoned, when we are absolved by the priest. What then are we to do? Hear now, O! Christians, this great news from Rome. Condemnation is pronounced against that article of faith which we profess when we say 'I *believe* in the Holy Ghost, the Christian Church, and the remission of sins.' If I knew that the Pope had really issued this bull at Rome" (which he did not doubt), "and that it had not been forged by that arch-liar Eck, I would proclaim to all Christians that they ought to hold the Pope as the very Antichrist the Scripture speaks of. And if he would not cease from thus publicly proscribing the faith of the Church, then . . . let the temporal sword itself be opposed to *him*, rather than to the Turk! . . . . For the Turk leaves us free to believe, but the Pope forbids it!"

Whilst Luther was speaking with so much energy, new dangers were gathering. The plan of his enemies was to procure his expulsion from Wittemberg. If Luther could be removed from Wittemberg, Luther and Wittemberg would both be ruined. One

measure would rid Rome of the heretic doctor and of the heretical university. Duke George, the bishop of Merseburg, and the Leipsic theologians were clandestinely labouring for this result.* Luther on hearing of it remarked, "I leave the matter in God's hands."† These intrigues were not altogether without effect. Adrian, professor of Hebrew at Wittemberg, suddenly turned against the doctor. It required considerable firmness of faith to bear up against the weight of the Pope's bull. There are some who will go only a certain length with truth. Such was Adrian. Awed by the Pope's sentence he quitted Wittemberg, and repaired to Leipsic to Dr. Eck.

The bull was beginning to take effect. The word of the Pontiff of Christendom still carried force. Fire and sword had long since taught submission. The stake was still fixed and the faggots piled at his bidding. Every thing announced that an awful catastrophe was about to put an end to the audacious rebellion of the Augustine monk. The Pope's nuncios had made urgent representations to the young emperor: Charles declared that he would protect the ancient religion;‡ and in some of his hereditary states scaffolds were raised for the purpose of committing the writings of the heretic to the flames. Ecclesiastical dignitaries and counsellors of state attended at these autos-da-fé. Those flames will strike terror in all quarters, said the

* Ut Wittemberga pellerer. (L. Epp. i. p. 519.)

† Id quod in manum Dei refero. (Ibid. p. 520.)

‡ A ministris pontificiis mature præoccupatus, declaravit se velle veterem fidem tutari. (Pallavicini, i. p. 80.)

Roman courtiers. And they did, indeed, carry fear to many timid and superstitious minds; but even in the Emperor's hereditary states, the only part of his dominions where the clergy ventured to carry the bull into execution, the people, and sometimes the higher classes often treated these pontifical demonstrations with ridicule or indignation. "Luther," said the doctors of Louvain, in an audience with Margaret, who at that time governed the Low Countries, "Luther is undermining the Christian faith." —"Who is this Luther?" asked the princess.— "An ignorant monk."—"Well," replied she, "do you who are learned, and so many, write against him. The world will surely believe a company of learned men rather than a single monk of no learning." The doctors of Louvain preferred an easier method. They raised at some expense a vast pile of wood. The multitude flocked to the place. Students and citizens were seen making their way through the crowd in great haste, carrying under their arms huge volumes which they threw into the flames. Their apparent zeal edified the monks and doctors; but the stratagem was soon after discovered: it was the *Sermones discipuli*, *Tartaret*, and other scholastic and popish books, which had been thrown into the fire instead of the writings of Luther.*

The Count of Nassau, viceroy of Holland, in reply to the solicitations of the Dominicans, to be permitted to burn the obnoxious books, answered: "Go and preach the Gospel as purely as Luther, and you will have no reason to complain of any one."

* Seckend. p. 289.

Conversation turning on the Reformer at a banquet at which the greatest princes of the empire were present, the lord of Ravenstein said aloud: "After the lapse of four whole centuries, a single Christian man has stood forth at last, and him the Pope would put to death."

Luther, conscious of the strength of his cause, preserved his composure amidst all the tumult excited by the bull.† "Were it not for your exhortations," said he to Spalatin, "I should hold my peace; assured as I am, that it is by the wisdom and the power of God that the work must be accomplished."‡ Here was the man of a timid spirit urging openness of speech, while the man of native resolution was disposed to remain silent. The reason was, that Luther discerned the operation of a power whose agency was unnoticed by his friend. "Be of good cheer," continued the Reformer, "it was Christ that began all this,—and he will bring it to its appointed issue;—even though my lot be banishment and death. Jesus Christ is here present; and He that is in us, is mightier than he that is in the world."§

But duty now requires him to speak, that the truth may be made manifest. Rome has assailed him; it shall be seen whether he shrinks from her blows. The Pope has placed him under the ban

* Es ist in vierhundert Jahren ein christlicher mann aufgestanden, den will der Pabst todt haben. (Seckend. p. 288.)

† In bullosis illis tumultibus. (L. Epp. i. p. 519.)

‡ Rem totam Deo committerem. (Ibid. p. 521.)

§ Christus ista cœpit, ista perficiet, etiam me sive extincto, sive fugato. (Ibid. p. 526.)

of the Church; he will place the Pope under the ban of Christianity. The sentence of the Pontiff has hitherto been absolute: he will now oppose sentence to sentence, and the world shall perceive which is the word of power. "For the peace of my own conscience," said he, "I am resolved that men shall no longer remain ignorant of the danger they are in;"* and forthwith he took steps to renew his appeal to a general Council. To appeal from the Pope to a council was in itself a crime. It was, therefore, by a fresh violation of the Pontifical authority, that Luther undertook to exonerate himself from the offences already laid to his charge.

On the 17th of November, a notary and five witnesses, of whom Cruciger was one, assembled at ten o'clock in the morning, in one of the halls of the Augustine convent, in which Luther resided. There,—the public functionary, Sarctor von Eisleben, being in readiness to take a minute of his protest,—the Reformer in a solemn tone of voice spoke as follows, in the presence of the witnesses:

"Forasmuch as a general Council of the Christian Church is superior to the Pope, especially in matters of faith.

"Forasmuch as the authority of the Pope is not superior, but inferior to Scripture, and he has no right to slay Christ's sheep, or cast them into the jaws of the wolf;

"I, Martin Luther, an Augustine, and Doctor of the Holy Scriptures at Wittemberg, on my own behalf, and on behalf of such as stand or shall

* Ut meam conscientiam redimam. (L. Epp. i. p. 522.)

stand on my side, do, by this instrument, appeal from his Holiness, Pope Leo, to a general Christian Council, hereafter to be held.

"I appeal from the aforesaid Pope Leo; first, as an unjust, hasty, and oppressive judge, who condemns me without having given me a hearing, and without declaring the grounds of his judgment;—secondly, as a heretic and apostate, misguided, hardened, and condemned by Holy Writ, who requires me to deny the necessity of Christian *faith* in the use of the sacraments;*—thirdly, as an enemy, an Antichrist, an adversary of the Scriptures, and an usurper of their authority,† who presumes to set up his own decrees against all the declarations of the word of God;—fourthly, as a contemner, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the Holy Christian Church, and of every free Council, who asserts that a Council is nothing in itself.

"Wherefore, I most humbly beseech the most serene, illustrious, excellent, wise, and worthy lords, Charles the Roman Emperor, the Electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, cities, and municipalities of the whole German nation, to adhere to this my protest, and unite with me to resist the Antichristian proceedings of the Pope,—for God's glory, in defence of the Church and of the Christian faith, and to uphold the free Councils of Christendom; and Christ, our Saviour, will richly reward them by his everlasting grace.

* Ab erroneo, indurato, per Scripturas sanctas damnato, hæretico et apostato. (L. Opp. lat. 2. p. 50.) See also, L. Opp. (L.) 17. p. 332. The German copy has a few paragraphs which are not in the Latin. † Oppressore totius Sacræ Scripturæ. (Ibid.)

But if there be any who set my entreaties at naught, preferring obedience to the Pope, an impious man,—rather than to obey God,* I do hereby disavow all responsibility on their account, having given a faithful warning to their consciences; and I leave them to the final judgment of God, together with the Pope and all his adherents."

Such was Luther's instrument of divorce; such was his answer to the Pontiff's bull. It was a deeply momentous declaration. The charges which he brought against the Pope were of the gravest character, nor were they lightly preferred. The protest was circulated throughout the whole of Germany, and found its way into most of the courts of Christendom.

Luther, however, though his recent act might have seemed the very extremity of daring, had another and a still bolder measure in contemplation. He was determined that in nothing would he be behind Rome. The monk of Wittemberg shall do all that the Sovereign Pontiff ventures to do. Sentence against sentence he has already pronounced; he will now kindle pile for pile. The descendant of the Medici and the miner's son have encountered each other in the lists, breast to breast —and while that conflict continues with which the world is destined to resound, not a blow shall be struck by the one combatant that shall not be returned by the other. On the 10th of December, a placard was affixed to the walls of the university of Wittemberg. It contained an invitation to the

* Et papæ, impio homini, plus quam Deo obediant. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 332.)

professors and students to repair at the hour of nine in the morning to the east gate, beside the Holy Cross. A great number of doctors and youths assembled, and Luther, putting himself at their head, led the procession to the appointed spot. How many piles had Rome kindled during the ages of her domination. Luther was now to make a better application of the great Romish principle. It was only of some musty writings that he sought to be rid, and fire he thought could never be employed to better purpose. A scaffold had already been erected. One of the oldest among the Masters of Arts soon set fire to it. As the flames arose, Luther drew nigh, and cast into the midst of them the Canon Law, and Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of the Popes, and a portion of the works of Eck and of Emser. When these books had been reduced to ashes, Luther took the Pope's Bull in his hand, held it up, and said aloud: "Since thou hast afflicted the Lord's Holy One, may fire unquenchable afflict and consume thee!" and thereupon he threw it into the flames. He then with much composure bent his steps towards the city, and the crowd of doctors, professors, and students, with loud expressions of applause, returned to Wittemberg in his train. "The Decretals," said Luther, "are like a body whose face is as fair as a virgin's; but its limbs are forceful as those of the lion, and its tail is that of the wily serpent. In all the papal laws, there is not a single word to teach us what Jesus Christ truly is."*—"My enemies," he said again, "by burning my books, may have

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii. p. 1493—1496.

disparaged the truth in the minds of the common people, and occasioned the loss of souls; for that reason I have burned their books in my turn. This is a mighty struggle but just begun. Hitherto I have been only jesting with the Pope. I entered upon this work in the name of God;—He will bring it to a close without my aid, by his own power. If they dare to burn my books,—of which it is no vain boast to say that they contain more of the Gospel than all the Pope's books put together, I may with far better reason burn theirs, which are wholly worthless.'"

Had Luther commenced the Reformation by an act like this, the consequences might have been deplorable. Fanaticism might have been awakened by it, and the Church forced into a career of disorder and violence. But in the first stages of his task, the Reformer had been satisfied with calmly expounding the doctrines of Scripture. The foundations of the edifice had been cautiously and securely laid. In the present posture of affairs, a vigorous blow, such as he had just struck, might not merely be productive of no ill effect; it might probably hasten the moment when Christianity should rejoice over the downfall of the power by which the Christian world had so long been held in thraldom.

Luther by this act distinctly announced his separation from the Pope and the Papal Church. After his letter to Leo, such an announcement might in his estimation be necessary. He now accepted the excommunication which Rome had pronounced. He proclaimed in the face of Christendom that between him and the Pope there was war even to

the death. Like the Roman who burned the vessels that had conveyed him to the enemy's shore, he left himself no resource, but to advance and offer battle.

We have seen how he re-entered Wittemberg. On the following morning, the hall of the academy was more than usually crowded. The minds of those that composed the assembly had been excited, a deep solemnity prevailed, the address which the doctor was to deliver was the subject of earnest expectation. He proceeded with a portion of his commentary upon the Psalms, which he had begun in the month of March of the preceding year. Having finished his lecture, he paused for a few moments, and then he said with great vivacity: "Be on your guard against the laws and statutes of the Pope. I have burned the Decretals, but that is mere child's play. It is time, and more than time, that the Pope himself were burned,—I mean," he immediately subjoined—"the papal chair with all its false doctrines, and all its abominations." Assuming then a more solemn tone: "If you do not with your whole hearts resist the impious usurpation of the Pope, you cannot be saved. Whosoever takes pleasure in the Popish doctrine and worship will be lost to all eternity in the world to come."*

"True," added he, "if we reject that false creed, we must expect no less than to encounter every kind of danger—even to the loss of life. But far better it is to expose ourselves to all the perils that this present world can assail us with, than to

* Muss ewig in jenem Leben verlohren seyn. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 333.)

hold our peace! So long as my life shall last, I, for my part, will never cease to warn my brethren of the wound and plague of Babylon, lest any of those who now walk with us should slide back like the rest into the pit of hell."

It is difficult to conceive the effect which was produced upon the auditory by this discourse, with the energy of which we ourselves cannot fail to be struck. "Not a man among us," adds the candid student to whom we are indebted for its preservation, "unless he be a senseless block (as all the Papists are," he remarks in a parenthesis)—"not a man among us doubts that this is the very truth. It is evident to all the faithful, that Doctor Luther is an angel of the living God,* commissioned to lead back the sheep of Christ's flock to the wholesome pastures from which we have wandered."

This discourse, and the act which preceded it mark an important epoch in the Reformation. In his heart, Luther had been alienated from the Pope by the controversy at Leipsic. But at the moment when he burned the bull, he declared in the most explicit manner his separation from the Bishop of Rome, and the Roman Church, and his adherence to the Church universal, as founded by the apostles of Jesus Christ. At the east gate of Wittemberg he kindled a flame which three hundred years have not yet extinguished.

"The Pope," said he, "has three crowns:—I will shew you why;—the first is against God, for he abrogates religion;—the second against the

* Lutherum esse Dei viventis angelum qui palabundas Christi oves pascat. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 123.)

Emperor, for he abrogates the secular power;—the third against society at large, for he abrogates marriage."* When he was accused of too much violence in his opposition to Popery:—"Oh!" he replied, "were it mine to choose, my testimony against it should be no other than the voice of thunder, and every word should fall like the fiery bolt."†

This undaunted spirit was rapidly communicated to Luther's friends and fellow-countrymen. The nation rallied round him. Melancthon, about this time, addressed to the States of the Empire a discourse which for elegance of style and strength of reasoning, is worthy of its amiable author. It was an answer to a book attributed to Emser, but published under the name of the Roman theologian Rhadinus. Never had Luther himself spoken with greater energy; and yet in Melancthon's composition there is a grace super-added, which wins its way to the heart.

After proving, by texts quoted from Scripture, that the Pope is not superior to other bishops;—"What hinders us," he asks of the States, "from depriving the Pope of the authority with which we have invested him?‡ It is a matter of small concern to Luther that our wealth—the treasure of Europe—is sent to Rome. What grieves him, and grieves us also, is, that the Papal laws and Pontifical dominion entail upon the souls of men, not

* L. Opp. (W.) 22. p. 1313.

† Und ein jeglich Wort eine Donneraxt wäre. (Ibid. p. 1350.)

‡ Quid obstat quominus papæ quod dedimus jus adimamus? (Corp. Reform. i. p. 337.

jeopardy merely, but absolute ruin. Every man may judge for himself, whether or not it behoves him to dedicate his money to the maintenance of Romish luxury; but to form a judgment on matters of religion and the holy mysteries is beyond the capacity of the multitude. On this ground does Luther appeal to your faith and to your zeal; and every pious man, if not openly, at least by secret groans and sighs, joins in the same invocation. Recollect that you are Christians, princes of a Christian nation, and hasten to rescue the piteous wreck of Christianity from the tyrannous hand of Antichrist. They who would persuade you that you have no jurisdiction over these priests are deceiving you grossly. Let the same spirit that animated Jehu against the priests of Baal, urge you by that memorable example to crush the Romish superstition; a superstition more detestable by far than the idolatry of Baal itself."* Such was the language in which the mild Melancthon addressed the princes of Germany.

Here and there a cry of alarm was raised among the friends of the Reformation. Men of feeble character, ever inclined to concession and compromise, and Staupitz, the foremost of this class, gave utterance to sentiments of deep concern. "All that has been done hitherto," said Luther to him, "has been mere play. Remember what you yourself said;—if God were not the author of all this, it never could have taken place. The tumult is continually growing more and more tumultuous;

* Ut extinguaris illam multo tetriorem Baalis idololatriâ Romanam superstitionem. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 337.)

nor do I think that it will ever be appeased until the last day."* This was Luther's method of encouraging the timorous. Three centuries have passed away, and the tumult is not appeased yet.

"The Papacy," continued he, "has ceased to be what it was yesterday, and the day before. Excommunicate me, and burn my writings it may,—aye, and put me to death!—but that which is now going forward it can never stop. We stand on the very threshold of some wonderful dispensation.† When I burned the bull, it was with inward fear and trembling; but I look back upon that act with more pleasure than upon any passage of my life."‡

Here we cannot but pause, delighted to trace the image of the future so vividly impressed on the mighty mind of the Reformer. "O my father," says he to Staupitz in the conclusion of his letter, "pray for the word of God and for me! I am hurried along by these billows and well nigh overwhelmed."§

On every side, then, the battle is now begun. The combatants have flung away their scabbards. The Word of God has reclaimed its rightful authority, and the sentence of deposition has gone forth against him who had usurped the place of God. The agitation pervades every class of the community. In no age has there been a lack of selfish men, who

* Tumultus egregiè tumultuatur, ut nisi extremo die sedari mihi posse non videatur. (L. Epp. i. p. 541.)

† Omninò aliquid portenti præ foribus est. (Ibid. p. 543.) What a presentiment of the future!

‡ . . . primum trepidus et orans, sed nunc lætior quam ullo totius vitæ meæ facto. (Ibid.)

§ Ego fluctibus his rapior et volvor. (Ibid.)

would gladly allow mankind to slumber on in error and corruption; but those whose hearts are enlarged, however timid by natural constitution, think far differently. "We are well aware," says the mild and moderate Melancthon, "that statesmen are averse from all innovation; and it must be confessed that in this scene of mournful confusion, which we call human life,—controversies, however just the grounds from which they spring, are always chargeable with some measure of evil. Nevertheless, it is necessary that God's word and his commandments should have preference in the Church, over every earthly interest.* The everlasting anger of God is denounced against such as endeavour to suppress the truth. It was Luther's duty, therefore,—a Christian duty from which he could in no way escape, more especially as he held the office of a teacher in the Church,—to reprove those pernicious errors which unprincipled men were so shamefully engaged in diffusing. "If these disputes engender many evils, as to my great grief," he adds, "I perceive that they do, the fault rests with those who first propagated error, and with those who now, with diabolical malignity, attempt to uphold it."

But this was not the opinion entertained by all. Luther was overwhelmed with reproaches,—the storm burst upon him from every quarter.—"He stands alone!" said some.—"He teaches new doctrines!" said others.

"Who knows," replied Luther, deeply conscious of the vocation he had received from on high,—"who

* Sed tamen in Ecclesiâ necesse est anteferri mandatum Dei omnibus rebus humanis. (Melancth. vit. Lutheri.)

knows whether God has not called and chosen me for this very purpose,* and whether they who despise me have not reason to fear lest they be found despisers of God himself. Moses was alone when the Israelites were led out of Egypt; Elijah was alone, in the time of King Ahab; Ezekiel was alone at Babylon. God has never chosen for his prophet either the high-priest, or any other person of exalted rank; he has generally chosen men of a mean and low condition,—in the instance of Amos, even a simple shepherd. The saints in every age have been called upon to rebuke the great of this world—Kings and princes—priests and scholars—and to fulfil their office at the peril of their lives. Has it not been thus under the New Testament dispensation? Ambrose, in his time stood alone; after him, Jerome was alone;—later still Augustine was alone. I say not that I am a prophet;† but I say that they have the more reason to fear, *because* I am alone and they are many. Of this I am sure, that the Word of God is with me, and that it is not with them."

"It is asserted also," continues he, "that I am bringing forward novelties, and that it is impossible to believe that all other teachers for so long a time have been in error.

"No—these are not novelties that I preach!—But I affirm that the doctrines of Christianity have been lost sight of by those whose special duty it was to preserve them—by the learned—by the bishops. I doubt not, indeed, that the truth has still found an

* Wer weiss ob mich Gott dazu berufen und erwaehlt hat. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 338.)

† Ich sage nicht dass Ich ein Prophet sey. (Ibid.)

abode in some few hearts, were it only with infants in the cradle.* Poor husbandmen, and simple children, in these days, understand more of *Jesus Christ* than the Pope, the bishops, or the doctors.

"I am accused of rejecting the holy doctors of the Church. I reject them not, but since those doctors all labour to prove what they write by the Holy Scriptures, it follows that the Scriptures must be clearer and more conclusive than their writings. Who would ever think of proving what is in itself obscure by the help of something obscurer still? Necessity therefore obliges us to have recourse to the Bible, as all the doctors have done; and to test their writings by it,—for the Bible is our only rule and standard.

"But it is further objected that men high in station pursue me with their censures. What then! —do not the Scriptures clearly show that they who persecute are generally in the wrong, and they who suffer persecution in the right,—that the majority has always been on the side of falsehood, and the minority only on the side of truth? It is the fate of truth to occasion an outcry."†

Luther then passes under review the various propositions which had been condemned by the bull as heretical; and demonstrates their truth by arguments drawn from Holy Scripture. With how much force, in particular, does he maintain the doctrine of grace!

"What!" says he, "shall we say, that nature

* Und sollten's eitel Kinder in der Wiege seyn. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 339.)

† Wahrheit hat allezeit rumört. (Ibid. p. 340.)

antecedently to, and unassisted by, grace, can hate sin, flee from sin, and repent of it, while yet, after grace vouchsafed, that same nature loves sin, seeks it, yearns after it, and never ceases to strive against grace and oppose it,—this being the burthen under which the saints are continually groaning. It is as though you were to tell me that some sturdy tree, which my utmost efforts could never bend, would bend of its own accord were it left alone, or that some torrent which dikes and dams were ineffectual to restrain would check its own course if all these impediments were removed. NO! never shall we attain to repentance by considering sin or its consequences, but only by fixing our contemplation on the wounded Saviour, and on the love of which his wounds are the token.* The knowledge of sin must proceed from repentance,—not repentance from the knowledge of sin. That knowledge is the fruit,—repentance the tree. In our country the fruit grows on the tree, but in the domain of his Holiness it would seem that the tree grows on the fruit!"

The intrepid teacher, though protesting, yet retracts some of his propositions. Notwithstanding all his protestations, Luther *retracts*. But our surprise will cease, when we learn the manner of his doing this. After citing the four propositions regarding indulgences which had been condemned by the bull,† he simply adds:

"In deference to the holy and learned bull, I

* Man soll zuvor Christum in seine Wunden sehen, und aus denselben seine Liebe gegen uns. (Ibid. p. 351.)

† The 19th to the 22nd. (Ibid. p. 363.)

retract all that I have ever advanced on the subject of *Indulgences*. If my books deserved to be burned, it was because they contained certain concessions to the Pope in respect to that doctrine of indulgences; on which account I myself now condemn them to the flames."

Then follows another retractation in respect to John Huss: "I now say, not that *some* of the articles but that *all* the articles propounded by John Huss are altogether orthodox. The Pope in condemning Huss has condemned the Gospel. I have gone five times as far as he, and yet I greatly fear I have not gone far enough. Huss only says that a wicked Pope is not a member of the Christian Church;—I, on the other hand, were I now to see St. Peter himself seated in the Roman chair, would deny that he was Pope by God's appointment."

The powerful language of the Reformer sunk deep into men's minds, and prepared them for enfranchisement. Every word was as a living spark helping to spread the flame through the whole nation. But an important question was yet to be decided. Would the Prince, whose territory Luther inhabited, concur in the execution of the bull, or would he oppose it? This question was not easily answered. The Elector, as well as the other princes of the Empire, was then at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was there that the crown of Charlemagne was placed on the head of the youngest, and yet the most powerful monarch of Christendom. The pomp and magnificence displayed on that occasion surpassed all previous example. After the ceremony, Charles the Fifth, attended by Frederic and the other princes,

by the ministers and ambassadors, immediately repaired to Cologne. Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been visited by the plague, seemed to discharge its entire population into that ancient city of the Rhine.

Among the crowd of strangers who were then received within its walls, were the Pope's two nuncios, Marino Carracioli and Hieronymus Aleander. Carracioli, who had been employed on a previous embassy to Maximilian, was authorised to congratulate the new Emperor, and to treat with him on affairs of state. But Rome had perceived that in order to bring her measures for the extinction of the Reformation to a successful issue, she must send to Germany a nuncio specially charged with that service, and fitted by a peculiar cast of mind, and by a union of dexterity with activity, for its accomplishment. With this view Aleander had been selected.* This individual, who at a later period was invested with the cardinal's purple, was descended, it would appear, from a family of considerable antiquity, and not, as some have reported, from a Jewish stock. The licentious Borgia sent for him to Rome to make him secretary to that son Cæsar, at whose very name all Rome trembled.† "The master and the servant were well matched," says a contemporary writer, intimating thus similarity of character between Aleander and Alexander the Sixth. The verdict seems too severe.

* Studium flagrantissimum religionis, ardor idolis . . . incredible quanta solertia. (Pallavicini, i. p. 84.)

† It was of this son (Cæsar) that Capello, the Venetian ambassador at Rome in the year 1500, said: Tutta Roma trema di esso ducha non li faza amazzar . . . (Extract by Ranke from a manuscript letter in the archives of Vienna.)

After the death of Borgia, Aleander give himself up to study with renewed ardour. His proficiency in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, gained him the credit of being the most learned man of his age. Whatsoever pursuit he engaged in, he devoted himself to it with his whole heart. The zeal with which he applied himself to the acquisition of languages was no less intense than that which he afterwards displayed in persecuting the Reformation. His services were next engaged by Leo the Tenth. Protestant historians speak of his epicurean morals; Romish historians celebrate his blameless life.* It appears that he was addicted to luxury, to dramatic entertainments, and public shows. "Aleander lives at Venice the life of a grovelling epicurean in high estate," said his old friend Erasmus. All reports agree that he was a man of imperious character, prompt in his actions, ardent, indefatigable, imperious, and devoted to the Pope. Eck was the fiery and intrepid champion of the schools; Aleander, the haughty envoy of the domineering Vatican. He seemed born to be a Nuncio.

Rome had every thing in readiness for the destruction of the monk of Wittemberg. The part which Aleander had to perform as the Pope's representative in the coronation of the Emperor, he regarded as only a subordinate commission, adapted, however, to promote his main design, by the personal consideration which it necessarily secured for

* Er wird übel als ein gebohrner Jude und schändlicher Epicurer beschrieben. (Seckend. 288.) Integritas vitæ quâ prænoscebatur. (Pallavicini, i. p. 84.)

him. But his real office was to persuade Charles to crush the Reformation in its birth.* "The Pope," said the Nuncio, as he gave the bull into the Emperor's hands, "the Pope, who has measured his strength with so many mighty princes, will find little difficulty in dealing with these grammarians." Under that contemptuous designation he included Luther, Melancthon, and Erasmus. Erasmus himself was present at the audience.

Immediately after his arrival at Cologne, Aleander, acting in concert with Carracioli, made it the object of his most strenuous efforts that the heretical writings of Luther should be publicly burned in every part of the empire, but more particularly under the eyes of the German princes assembled in that city. Charles the Fifth had already given his consent, so far as concerned his hereditary dominions. The agitation of men's minds in this juncture was extreme. The ministers of Charles and the Nuncios themselves were solemnly warned that measures like these, instead of healing the wound, would inflame it. "Do you imagine," they were asked, "that the doctrine taught by Luther exists only in those books which you are now condemning to the flames? It is deeply engraven where you cannot obliterate it—in the hearts of the German nation.† If you mean to employ force, you must give the word for myriads of swords to be unsheathed, and a countless multitude of victims to be

* Cui tota sollicitudo insisteret nascentis hæresis evellendæ. (Pallavicini, i. p. 83.)

† Altiusque insculptam in mentibus universæ fere Germaniæ. (Ibid. i. p. 88.)

slaughtered. Piling a few faggots together to burn a few sheets of paper will be of no avail; nor does it beseem the dignity of the Emperor or that of the Sovereign Pontiff to employ such weapons."* The Nuncio clung to his faggots notwithstanding. "These flames that we shall kindle," said he, "are a sentence of condemnation written in giant characters, conspicuous far and wide—to the learned and the unlearned—legible even to such as can read no others."

But after all, the Nuncio cared little about books or papers; Luther himself was the mark he aimed at. "These fires," he remarked again, "are not sufficient to purify the pestilential atmosphere of Germany.† Though they may strike terror into the simple-minded, they leave the authors of the mischief unpunished. We must have an imperial edict sentencing Luther to death."‡

Aleander found the Emperor less compliant when the Reformer's life was demanded, than he had shewn himself before, when his books alone were attacked.

"Raised as I have been so recently to the throne, I cannot," said Charles, "without the advice of my counsellors, and the consent of the Princes of the Empire, strike such a blow as this against a faction so numerous and so powerfully protected. Let us first ascertain what our father, the Elector of Saxony, thinks of the matter; we shall then be

* In vi innumerabilium gladiorum qui infinitum populum trucidarent . . . (Pallavicini, i. p. 88.)

† Non satis ad expurgandum aerem Germaniæ jam tabificum. (Ibid. p. 89.)

‡ Cæsaris edictum in caput . . . Lutheri. (Ibid.)

prepared to give our answer to the Pope."* On the Elector, therefore, must the Nuncios now exercise their artifices and the power of their rhetoric.

On the first Sunday of November, after Frederic had attended mass in the convent of the Cordeliers, Carracioli and Aleander demanded an audience of him. He received them in the presence of the Bishop of Trent and of several of his counsellors. Carracioli opened the interview by presenting to the Elector the Pope's brief. Of a milder character than Aleander, he thought it expedient to gain the Prince over, if possible, by fair speeches, and accordingly began by complimenting him and his ancestors. "In your Highness," said he, "are reposed all our hopes for the salvation of the Church and the Holy Roman Empire."

But the impetuous Aleander, resolved to come at once to the point, stepped abruptly forward and interrupted his colleague, who modestly gave way to him.† "It is to myself and to Eck," said he, "that the affair of friar Martin has been entrusted. Consider the infinite peril into which this man is plunging the Christian commonwealth. Unless a remedy be speedily applied, the fate of the Empire is sealed. Why has the empire of the Greeks been destroyed, but because they fell away from the Pope? You cannot join yourself to Luther without being dissevered from Christ.‡ In the name of his

* Audiamus antea hac in re patrem nostrum Fredericum. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 117.)

† Cui ita loquenti de improviso sese addit Aleander. . . . (Ibid.)

‡ Non posse cum Luthero conjungi quinsejungeretur a Christo. (Pallavicini, i p. 86.)

Holiness, I require of you two things; first, that you cause Luther's writings to be burned; secondly, that you inflict upon the heretic himself the punishment he deserves, or else that you deliver him up a prisoner to the Pope. The Emperor and all the Princes of the Empire have signified their willingness to accede to our demands;—you alone demur."

Frederic replied by the mouth of the Bishop of Trent: "This is a matter of too much importance to be decided instantly. Our determination in regard to it shall be duly communicated to you."

The position in which the Elector was placed was a difficult one. To which side shall he incline? On the one side are arrayed the Emperor, the Princes of the Empire, and the Sovereign Pontiff, whose authority Frederic, at this time, has no thought of shaking off; on the other stands a monk, a poor monk, for against Luther alone is this assault levelled. The reign of Charles has but just begun. Shall Frederic, the oldest, the wisest of the sovereign princes of Germany, be the first to kindle discord in the Empire? And, besides, how shall he forfeit the praise of that devotion which led him in earlier days on his long pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Christ?

But there were voices raised to plead on the opposite part also. A youthful Prince, who afterwards wore the electoral diadem, and whose reign was signalized by great calamities—John Frederic, the son of Duke John, and nephew of the Elector, having been educated by Spalatin, and having now

* Ut de eo supplicium sumeret, vel captum pontifici transmitteret. (L. Opp. lat. ii, p. 117.)

attained the age of seventeen, had had his heart deeply imbued with a love of the truth, and was ardently attached to Luther.* When he saw him pursued by the anathemas of Rome, he embraced his cause with the fervour of a young Christian, and the spirit of a young Prince. He wrote to the Reformer, and also to his uncle, and with dignified earnestness besought the latter to protect Luther against his enemies. On the other hand, Spalatin,—often, it must be confessed, in too timid a strain,—as well as Pontanus, and the other counsellors who were with the Elector at Cologne, represented to the Prince that he could not abandon the Reformer.†

Amidst this general agitation one man remained unmoved: it was Luther himself. While his friends were invoking the assistance of the great to save him from destruction, the monk, in his cloister at Wittemberg, had come to the conclusion that it was his part, rather, to rescue the great of this world from *their* imminent peril. "If the Gospel," he wrote to Spalatin, "were of such a nature that it must be propagated or supported by earthly potentates, God would not have committed it to the hands of a few fishermen.‡ It is not to Princes or to

* Sonderliche Gunst und Gnade zu mir unwürdiglich und den grossen Willen und Lust zu der heiligen göttlichen Wahrheit. . . . (L. Epp. p. 548. to John Frederic, 30th October, 1520.)

† Assiduo flabello ministrorum illi jugiter suadentium ne Lutherum desereret. (Pallavicini, i. p. 86.)

‡ Evangelium si tale esset quod potentatibus mundi aut propagaretur aut servaretur, non illud piscatoribus Deus demandasset. (L. Epp. i. p. 521.)

Pontiffs that the task is assigned of defending God's word. Enough for them, if they can themselves escape the judgments of the Lord and his Anointed. I speak thus boldly that they may be led to acquaint themselves with the divine Word, and may find salvation there."

What Luther desire, was about to be accomplished. The same faith, that worked unseen in the convent of Wittemberg, was to display its power in the princely halls of Cologne. Frederic's courage, which for a while, perhaps, had faltered, soon rose again to its wonted pitch. He shuddered at the thought of delivering an honest man into the hands of his implacable enemies. "Justice must have precedence even of the Pope:" by this principle would he regulate his conduct.

On the 4th of November, his counsellors intimated in his name, to the papal Nuncios, who had again met in the presence of the Bishop of Trent in the Elector's palace, that his highness had seen with great concern, the advantage which Doctor Eck had taken of his absence, to involve many persons in the sentence of condemnation, who were not particularized in the bull; that since his departure from Saxony, multitudes, very probably, of every class, the learned as well as the unlearned, the clergy as well as the laity, had joined themselves to Luther, and become parties to his appeal;* that neither his Imperial Majesty, nor any one else, had yet made it appear to him that Luther's writings

* Ut ingens vis populi, doctorum et rudium, sacrorum et profanorum, sese conjunxerint. . . (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 116.)

had been refuted, or demonstrated to be fit only for the flames; that he demanded therefore, that Doctor Luther should be furnished with a safe-conduct, and permitted to answer for himself before a tribunal, composed of learned, pious, and impartial judges."

After this announcement, Aleander, Carracioli, and their followers withdrew for a while, to hold a consultation.* This was the first occasion on which the Elector had publicly declared his intentions in regard to the Reformer. The Nuncios had expected him to adopt a very different course. The affair having been brought to that stage in which his continued neutrality would expose him to dangers, the full extent of which no foresight could measure, —they thought that he would no longer hesitate to give up the obnoxious monk. So Rome had reasoned. But her machinations were now to be baffled by a power which her calculations had left wholly out of view;—the love of justice and truth.

On the re-admission of the Nuncios into the audience chamber, "I should like to know," said the arrogant Aleander, "what the Elector would think, if one of his subjects were to appeal from his judgment to that of the king of France, or some other foreign sovereign." But perceiving at last, that the Saxon counsellors were not to be wrought upon: "We will execute the bull," said he, "we will pursue and burn the writings of Luther. As for his person," he added, affecting a tone of disdainful indifference, "the Pope has

* Quo audito Marinus et Aleander seorsim cum suis locuti sunt. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 117.)

little inclination to imbrue his hands in the blood of the unhappy wretch."

When the tidings reached Wittemberg, of the reply given by the Elector to the Nuncios, Luther's friends were transported with joy. Melancthon and Amsdorff, in particular, conceived the most sanguine hopes of the future. "The German nobles," said Melancthon, "will follow the guidance of the Prince whom they revere as their Nestor. If Homer styled his aged hero the *bulwark of the Greeks*, why may not our Frederic be surnamed the *bulwark of Germany?*"

Erasmus, the oracle of courts, the arbiter of the schools, the luminary of the age, was then at Cologne. He had been summoned thither by several princes, desirous to profit by his counsels. Erasmus, at the epoch of the Reformation, was the leader of that party which held the *just mean* between the other two: such at least was his own persuasion,—a mistaken one, however,—for when truth and error stand in hostile opposition, justice halts not on the middle ground. He was the chief of that philosophical and academic party, which, for centuries, had been attempting to correct the abuses of the Romish church, but still without success. He was the representative of human wisdom,—a wisdom far too weak to chastise the pride of Popery. The task could be achieved only by the wisdom of God, which men often deem foolishness, but at the voice of which the mountains crumble into dust. Erasmus would neither throw himself into the arms

* Homericâ appellatione murum Germaniæ. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 272)

of Luther, nor yet would he crouch at the footstool of the Pope. He wavered, and sometimes lost his balance between the two opposing influences; ever and anon attracted towards the Reformer, and then again suddenly drawn back into the sphere of Romish delusion. In a letter addressed to Albert, the Archbishop of Mentz, he had declared himself in Luther's favour. "It seems," said he, "as though the last spark of Christian piety were about to be extinguished; and this it is that has stirred up the heart of Luther;—his aim is not distinction, nor is he seeking wealth."* But this letter, which Ulric von Hütten imprudently published, was the cause of so much annoyance to Erasmus, that he determined to observe more caution for the future. Moreover, though he lay under the charge of connivance with Luther, the unmeasured language employed by the latter gave him serious umbrage: "Almost all good people lean towards Luther,"† he observed, "but I perceive that the affair will end in rebellion . . . I do not wish my name to be coupled with his.‡ It injures me and does him no service."§—"Be it so," replied Luther, "if that displeases you, I promise you that I will never make mention of you, or any of your friends." Such was the man to whom the favourers and the

* Et futurum erat . . . ut tandem prorsus extingueretur illa scintilla Christianæ pietatis; hæc moverunt animum Lutheri . . . qui nec honores ambit nec pecuniam cupit. (Erasm. Epp. Lond. 1642, p. 586.)

† Favent vero ferme boni omnes. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 205.)

‡ Er will von mir ungenennt seyn. (L. Epp. i. p. 255.)

§ Nam ea res me gravat et Lutherum non sublevat. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 206.)

enemies of the Reformer, alike addressed themselves.

The Elector, knowing that the opinion of a man so highly respected as Erasmus would carry great weight with it, requested a visit from the illustrious Hollander. Erasmus obeyed the invitation on the 5th of December. The friends of Luther regarded the interview with some measure of secret alarm. The Elector was standing before the fire, with Spalatin by his side, when Erasmus was ushered into the chamber. "What think you of Luther?" asked Frederic immediately. The prudent Erasmus, surprised by the question so suddenly put to him, endeavoured at first to evade a reply. He screwed up his mouth, bit his lips, and remained silent. Hereupon the Elector raised his eye-brows,* (as was his custom, Spalatin tells us, when he meant to force an explicit answer from the person with whom he was conversing), and looked Erasmus stedfastly in the face. The latter, at a loss how to extricate himself from the difficulty, replied at last, in a half-jocular tone: "Luther has committed two grievous sins; he has attacked the Pope's crown and the monks' bellies."† The Elector smiled, but intimated to his visitor that he was in earnest. Erasmus then, casting off his reserve, replied as follows: "The origin of all these dissensions is the hatred the monks bear to learning, and the fear that besets them of seeing their tyranny

* Da sperret accep wahrlich mein gnadigst Herr seine Augen nur wohl auf . . . (Spalatin Hist. MS. in Seckendorf, p. 291.)

† Lutherus peccavit in duobus, nempe quod tetigit coronam pontificis et ventres monachorum. (See the first volume.)

brought to an end. What are the weapons of their warfare against Luther? clamour, cabal, malice, and slander. The more virtuous a man is, and the more strongly attached to the doctrines of the Gospel, the less does he find to censure in Luther's proceedings.* The severity of the bull has roused the indignation of all good men; for they find in it none of the gentleness that befits the Vicar of Christ.† Two universities only, out of the whole number, have condemned Luther; and even they have condemned without having convicted him. Let them not deceive themselves; the danger is greater than some persons imagine. There are difficulties in their way which will not easily be surmounted.‡ To begin the reign of Charles by so unpopular an act as Luther's imprisonment, would be an evil omen for the future. The world is thirsting for gospel truth: § let us beware how we resist so holy a desire. Let the whole question be examined by dispassionate and competent judges; it is the only course that can be followed, consistently with the dignity of the Pope himself."

Such was the language of Erasmus to the Elector. Its frankness may perhaps astonish us; but Erasmus well knew to whom he was speaking. Spalatin listened to it with delight. When Erasmus took

* Cum optimus quisque et evangelicæ doctrinæ proximus dicatur minime offensus Luthero. (Axiomata Erasmi in L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 115.)

† Bullæ sevitia probos omnes offendit ut indigna mitissimo Christi vicario. (Ibid.)

‡ Urgent ardua negotia.

§ Mundus sitit veritatem evangelicam. (Ibid.)

his leave, he accompanied him the whole way to the house of Count von Nuenar, the provost of Cologne, where the illustrious scholar resided. The latter, obeying the impulse of the moment, when he found himself at home, sat down, committed to writing the substance of what he had said to the Elector and gave the paper into Spalatin's hands. The fear of Aleander, however, soon took possession of his mind; the courage he had felt in the presence of the Elector and his chaplain forsook him, and he entreated Spalatin to let him have that unguarded paper back again, lest it should fall into the hands of the terrible Nuncio. But it was already too late.

The Elector, feeling himself strengthened by the opinion of Erasmus, assumed a more decided tone in his communications with the Emperor. Erasmus himself, in several conferences, which (like those granted to Nicodemus of old,) were held at night,* laboured hard to persuade the Imperial counsellors that the whole affair might be referred to the judgment of an impartial tribunal. He probably hoped that he himself might be chosen to decide the controversy which threatened to divide the Christian world. His vanity would have found ample gratification in such an office. But at the same time, that he might not lose his credit at Rome, he wrote to Leo the Tenth in the most submissive terms, and Leo answered his letters graciously; a circumstance which was the source of deep mortification to Aleander.† In his devotion to the Pope's

* Sollicitatis per nocturnos congressus . . . (Pallavicini, p. 87.)

† Quæ malè torquebant Aleandrum. (Ibid.)

cause, the Nuncio would willingly have administered a severe reproof to the Pope himself; for Erasmus gave publicity to the Pontiff's letters, and made them subservient to the confirmation of his own credit. Aleander forwarded a remonstrance on this head to the Vatican. The reply he received was to this effect: "Do not appear to perceive the evil intentions of the man. Prudence forbids it. We must not close the door of repentance against him."*

Charles himself adopted a system of equipoise, which consisted in flattering both the Pope and the Elector, and manifesting a disposition to lean alternately to the one side or the other, according to the shifting exigency of the moment. His ministers obscurely intimated to Aleander the plan which their master was inclined to follow. "The Emperor," said they, "will be regulated in his conduct towards the Pope, by the tenor of the Pope's conduct towards himself: he does not choose to increase the power of his rivals, particularly that of the king of France."† At these words, the arrogant Nuncio gave vent to his indignation. "What," he replied, "even though the Pope should relinquish his alliance with the Emperor, must the Emperor on that account relinquish his *creed?* If that be the way in which he means to avenge himself, bid him tremble,—his faithlessness will be visited on his own head." But the Imperial diplomatists were not to be intimidated by the Nuncio's threats.

* Prudentis erat consilii hominis pravitatem dissimulare. (Pallavicini, p. 88.)

† Cæsarem ita se gesturum erga Pontificem uti se Pontifex erga Cæsarem gereret. . . . (Ib. p. 91.)

Yet though the Roman legates had failed to bend the great ones of this world to their will, the inferior agents of the Papacy succeeded in making some impression on the lower ranks of men. The myrmidons of Rome had heard the command given by their chief. Many fanatical priests gladly took advantage of the bull to alarm the consciences of their hearers, and many well-meaning but ill-instructed ecclesiastics deemed it a sacred duty to obey the injunctions of the Pope It was in the confessional that the struggle against Rome had been begun by Luther ;* it was in the confessional that Rome now put forth her strength against the adherents of the Reformer. Denied all public recognition of its validity, the bull, nevertheless, became powerfully operative in these solitary tribunals. "Have you read the writings of Luther?" was the question put by the confessor :—"have you them in your possession?—do you regard them as true or heretical?" And if the penitent hesitated to pronounce the prescribed anathema, the priest refused him absolution. The consciences of many were disturbed. Great agitation prevailed amongst the people. This dexterous expedient promised fair to bring multitudes once more under the papal yoke, who had but now been won over to the gospel. Well might Rome rejoice that six centuries before† she had created a tribunal so admirably adapted to secure to the priesthood a despotic sway over the conscience

* See Vol. I. p. 288.

† In 1215, by the fourth Lateran Council, under Innocent the Third.

of every Christian. So long as that tribunal stands, her empire shall not be overthrown.

Luther was speedily informed of what was going on. With none to aid him in baffling this device, how shall he act? The Word, the testimony of Holy Writ, loudly and fearlessly proclaimed—this shall be his weapon of defence. The Word shall find access to those troubled consciences, those dismayed hearts,—and they shall be strengthened. A powerful impulse was needed, and powerfully was the voice of Luther lifted up. He addressed the penitents in a tone of intrepid dignity and high-minded contempt for all secondary considerations. "When you are asked," said he, "whether or not you approve of my books, let your answer be—'You are a confessor, not an inquisitor nor a gaoler. It is my duty to confess whatsoever my conscience prompts me to disclose, it is yours to abstain from prying into the secrets of my heart. Give me absolution first, and then dispute with Luther—with the Pope—with whomsoever you please; but beware of turning the sacrament of penance into an instrument of strife and debate.' And if the confessor should refuse to yield," said Luther, "I would dispense with his absolution. Be not disquieted; if man absolves you not, God will absolve you. Rejoice, therefore, that you are absolved of God himself, and come forward fearlessly to the sacrament of the altar. The priest will have to answer at the last day for the absolution he has withheld. They may deny us the sacrament, but they cannot deprive us of the strength and grace which God has attached to it.

It is not their will, nor any power of theirs, but our own faith that the Lord has made essential to our salvation. The sacrament,—the altar,—the priest,—the church—we may pass them all by; that word of God which the bull condemned is more than all these things! The soul may dispense with the sacrament, but it cannot live without the Word. Christ, the true bishop, will himself supply your spiritual feast."*

Such was the strain of Luther's exhortation. That animating voice pierced the recesses of every dwelling,—of every troubled bosom,—and courage and faith were everywhere awakened by its echoes. But it was not enough for him to stand on the defensive,—he felt that he must become the assailant, and return blow for blow. A book had been written against him by a Roman theologian, named Ambrosius Catharinus. "I will rouse the choler of that Italian beast,"† said Luther. He kept his word. In his answer, he proved by the revelations of Daniel and St. John, by the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude, that the kingdom of Antichrist, predicted and described in the Bible, was no other than the Papacy. "I know for certain," said he, in conclusion, "that our Lord Jesus Christ liveth and reigneth. In the strength of that assurance I could face ten thousand Popes, and never shrink. May God visit us at length according to

* Und wird dich der rechte Bischopp Christus selber speisen. (L. Opp. lxvii. p. 563.)

† Italicæ bestiæ bilem movebo. (L. Epp. i. p. 570.)

his infinite power, and hasten the day of the glorious coming of his Son, in which he shall destroy that man of sin. And let all the people say, Amen."*

And all the people *did* say, Amen! A sacred dread took possession of every mind. The image of Antichrist seated on the Pontifical throne was present to every imagination. This new idea, so startlingly displayed by Luther to his contemporaries in the glowing colours of prophetic delineation, gave a fearful shock to the power of Rome. Faith in the divine Word succeeded to that unqualified submission which had hitherto been rendered to the Church, and the Pope's authority, so long regarded with the deepest reverence, was now the object of general detestation and terror.

Germany replied to the Papal bull by saluting Luther with redoubled acclamations. The plague had made its appearance in Wittemberg, yet new students were continually flocking to the university, and from five to six hundred disciples were statedly assembled to listen to the lectures of Luther and Melancthon. The convent chapel and the city church were both too small for the eager crowd that hung on the lips of the Reformer. The prior of the Augustines was in constant alarm, lest the buildings should give way under the weight of the throngs that filled them.† Nor was this excitement confined within the walls of Wittemberg—all Germany partook of it. From princes, nobles, and

* Ostendat illum diem adventus gloriæ Filii sui quo destruatur iniquus iste. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 162.)

† Es möchte noch gar die Kirche und Capelle um der menge willen einfallen. (Spalatin in Seckend. p. 295.)

scholars, in every quarter,—Luther received letters that spoke the language of encouragement and of faith. More than thirty such letters were shown by him to Spalatin.*

On one occasion the Margrave of Brandenburg, accompanied by several other princes, came to Wittemberg to pay Luther a visit. "They wanted to see the Man,"† as he himself expresses it. And of a truth all wanted to see *the man* whose voice stirred the nations and caused the Pontiff of the West to totter on his throne.

The enthusiasm of Luther's friends grew stronger every day. "O the unheard-of folly of Emser!" cried Melancthon, "that he should presume to measure his strength with our Hercules, overlooking the finger of God in what has been done by Luther,‡ even as the king of Egypt overlooked it in the acts of Moses." The mild Melancthon employed the most energetic language to urge forward such as appeared to him to be falling back, or pausing in their course. "Luther has arisen to defend the truth," said he, addressing John Hesse, "and dost thou keep silence? He breathes still—aye and prospers,—in spite of all the wrath and fury of Pope Leo. Remember that it is impossible for Romish impiety to give a sanction to the Gospel.§ In this unhappy age how can we hope that a Judas or a Caiaphas,—a Pilate or a Herod will ever be

* Mehr als dreyssig Briefe von Fürsten. (Spalatin in Seckend. p. 295.)

† Videre enim hominem voluerunt. (L. Epp. i. p. 544. 16 Jan. 1521.)

‡ . . Dei digitum esse quæ à Martino fiant. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 282.)

§ Non posse Evangelium Romanæ impietati probari. (Ibid. 280.)

wanting to uphold the evil cause. Stand forth then to resist such adversaries, in the might of God's holy word."

Besides this, caustic satires against the most conspicuous among the Italian agents of the Pope were circulated through all the provinces of the empire. Ulric von Hütten was indefatigable in his exertions. He addressed letters to Luther, to the legates, to all the most considerable personages of Germany. "I tell thee—once and again I tell thee, O Marinus!" said he in an epistle to the legate Carracioli, "that those deceitful mists with which you blinded our eyes are scattered for ever; the Gospel is preached, the truth is made known, the absurdities of Rome are given up to contempt,—your decrees are unheeded, and null,—our deliverance is at hand!"*

Not content with the use of prose, Hütten had recourse also to verse. He published his "*Outcry on the Fire raised by Luther.*"† Appealing in this poem to Christ himself, he besought him to rebuke

* Ablata illa est a vobis inducta olim nostris oculis caligo . . . . prædicatur Evangelium . . . . spes est libertatis. (Ulric ab Hütten Eques, Mar. Carrac. L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 176.)

† . . . Quo tu oculos, pie Christe, tuos, frontisque severæ
Tende supercilium, teque esse ostende neganti.
Qui te contemnunt igitur mediumque tonanti
Ostendunt dignitum, tandem iis te ostende potentem
Te videat ferus ille Leo, te tota malorum
Sentiat iliuvies, sceleratque Roma tremiscat
Ultorem scelerum discant te vivere saltem
Qui regnare negant.
(In Incendium Lutheranum Exclamatio Ulrichi Hütteni Equitis, Ibid.)

in his fiery displeasure all who dared to deny his authority. Hütten was not inclined to stop at words;—he was eager to draw his sword in the struggle. Luther reproved his rash designs. "I would not have the Gospel supported by violence and carnage," said he: "I have written to Hütten to tell him so."*

The celebrated painter Lucas Cranach published a set of prints under the title of *Christ's Passion and Antichrist:* representing on one side the glory and magnificence of the Pope; on the other the humiliation and sufferings of the Redeemer. Luther composed the inscriptions for these prints. They produced an unexampled effect. The people renounced their attachment to a church which appeared in every particular so directly opposed to the example of its founder. "It is an excellent work," said Luther, "for the laity."†

In some instances those who attacked the Papacy employed weapons ill suited to the sanctity of the Christian character. Emser had answered Luther's work, addressed "To the Goat of Leipsic;" by another inscribed, "To the Bull of Wittemberg:" the appellation was not ill chosen. But at Magdeburg Emser's book was hung to the gallows, with this inscription, "The book is worthy of its place," and a rod was hung under it to denote the punishment due to the author.‡ At Doeblin there was written under the Pope's bull, in derision of its im-

* Nollem vi et cœde pro Evangelio certari; ita scripsi ad hominum. (L. Epp. i. p. 243.)

† Bonus et pro laicis liber. (L. Epp. i. p. 571.)

‡ In publico infamiæ loco affixus (Ibid. p. 560.)

potent fury, "The nest is here, but the birds are flown."*

The students of Wittemberg, taking advantage of the carnival, dressed up one of their own number in garments resembling those worn by the Pope, and carried him in pompous procession, though in a manner somewhat too ludicrous, as Luther remarks,† through the streets of the city. When they reached the great square beside the river, some of them, feigning a mutiny, made a sudden attempt to throw the Pope into the water. His Holiness, unwilling to submit to the immersion, took to his heels; his cardinals, his bishops, and familiars of every degree did the same; the students chased them from street to street, and every corner of Wittemberg enjoyed the spectacle of some Romish dignitary pursued by the jeers and shouts of the excited populace.‡ "The enemy of Christ," says Luther, "who mocks at kings, and at Christ himself, meets but a just requital, when he also is turned into mockery." Here, in our judgment, he errs; the spotless dignity of truth ought not to be so profaned. In the conflicts she is called upon to wage she needs not such auxiliaries as songs, or caricatures, or the mummeries of a carnival. It may be, indeed, that without these popular demonstrations, her success would be less apparent: but it would be purer and consequently more durable.

* Das Nest is hie; die Vögel sind ausgeflogen. (L. Epp. i. p. 570.)

† Nimis ludicrè Papam personatum circumvenerunt sublimem et pompaticum. . . . . (Ibid. p. 561.)

‡ . . . . Fugitivum cum Cardinalibus, Episcopis, famulisque suis in diversas partes oppidi disperserunt et insecuti sunt. (Ibid. 17 Feb. 1521.)

It was not all exultation and defiance, however, with the Reformer. Behind his triumphal chariot, drawn joyously along by enthusiastic and devoted adherents, there stood the slave to remind him of impending evil. Some of his friends, at this time, seemed disposed to retrace their steps. Staupitz, whom he called his father, appeared to be wavering. The Pope had accused him, and Staupitz had declared himself ready to submit to the judgment of His Holiness. "I fear," said Luther, "that by accepting the Pope as your judge, you will seem to renounce me and the doctrines which I have maintained. If Christ loves you, he will constrain you to retract your letter. Christ is rejected, stripped, blasphemed: this is not the time to shrink back, but to sound the onset.* You exhort me to be humble: I, on the other hand, exhort you to be firm; for you have too much humility, as I have too much pride. I shall be called a proud man,—I know;—a covetous man, an adulterer, a homicide, an anti-pope, a wretch guilty of every crime. It matters little,—so that no one can charge me with having impiously kept silence while the Lord was complaining: '*I looked on my right hand and beheld; but there was no man that would know me.*' The word of Christ is a word, not of peace, but of the sword. If you will not follow Christ, let me advance alone. I will press forward, and the prize of the high calling shall be mine."†

Luther thus, like a consummate general, kept a

* Non enim hic tempus timendi sed clamandi. (L. Epp. i. p. 557.)

† Quod si tu non vis sequi, sine me ire et rapi. (Ib. p. 558.)

watchful eye on the face of the battle; and while fresh combatants were continually rushing forward at his bidding into the thickest of the fight, he failed not to mark where any of his followers were beginning to give ground; nor was he slow to rally them again beneath their adopted standard. His warning voice resounded far and wide. Letter followed letter in rapid succession. Three printing presses were incessantly employed in multiplying the copies of his various writings.* His discourses passed from hand to hand through the whole nation;—supporting the agitated penitent in the confessional,—giving courage to the faltering convert in the cloister,—and asserting the claims of evangelic truth, even in the abodes of princes.

"Amid the storms that assailed me," he wrote to the Elector, "I always hoped that I should be permitted to enjoy repose at last. But I now see that this was one of the thoughts of man. Day after day the waves are rolling higher, and on every side the ocean hems me in. Fiercely indeed is the tempest raging,† yet I still grasp the sword with one hand, while with the other I build up the walls of Sion."‡ His former ties are now broken; the arm that levelled the thunders of excommunication against him, has sever'd them for ever. "Being excommunicated by the bull," said he, "I am released from the authority of the Pope, and the

* Cum tria prælia solus ego occupare cogar. (L. Epp. i. p. 558.)

† Videns rem tumultuosissimo tumultû tumultuantem. (Ibid. p. 546.)

‡ Unâ manû gladium apprehendens et alterâ murum ædificaturus. (Ib. p. 565.)

monastic laws. I embrace my deliverance with joy. Yet I relinquish not the habit of my order; nor do I leave the convent."* And still, in the midst of all this commotion, he recalls to mind the dangers to which his own soul is exposed in the struggle. He feels the necessity of watching over himself. "Thou dost well to pray for me," he wrote to Pellican, who was residing at Basle; "I cannot give myself up as I ought to holy exercises; life is a Cross to me. Thou dost well in exhorting me to moderation; I feel the need of it; but I am not master of myself: an impulse, of I know not what nature, hurries me away. I bear enmity to no man;† but I am so beset with enemies myself, that I cannot be sufficiently on my guard against the seductions of Satan. Pray for me then. . . ."

Thus it was that both the Reformer and the Reformation were led forward on the way which God had marked out for them. The agitation was still spreading more widely. Persons who might have been expected to prove the staunchest adherents of the hierarchy, began now to share in the general movement. "Those even," says Eck, with considerable candour, "on whom the Pope has conferred the best benefices and the richest prebends, are as mute as so many senseless stocks. There are many of them even, who extol Luther as a man filled with the Spirit of God, and call the defenders of the Pope sophists and flatterers."‡ The church,

* Ab ordinis et Papæ legibus solutus . . . quod gaudeo et amplector. (L. Epp. i. p. 568.)

† . . . Compos mei non sum, rapior nescio quo spiritû, cum nemini me male velle conscius sim. (Ibid. p. 555.)

‡ Reynald, Epist. J. Eckii ad Cardinal Contarenum.

apparently in full vigour, supported by the treasures, the power, the armed array of the world,—but in reality exhausted, enfeebled, destitute of the love of God, of Christian vitality, of devotion to the truth,—found herself, in this condition, opposed to a company of simple-minded but courageous men, who had learned that God is with them who contend for his Word, and therefore never doubted of their victory. In all ages it has been seen how great is the power of any predominant idea to work upon the inert mass of mankind, to rouse the spirit of a nation, and to urge its votaries by thousands, if need be, into the field of battle and the very jaws of death. But if an idea whose origin is earthly has a potency so great,—what limit shall we set to the power of one communicated from above, when God himself has opened men's hearts to receive it? Not often, indeed, in the world's history has such a power been exerted; it was displayed however, in the infancy of Christianity,—at the period of the Reformation it was exhibited again,—and it shall be witnessed once more in the latter days. Men who despised the riches and the grandeur of the world, and were content to lead a life of poverty and privation, began now to bestir themselves for the sake of that most precious of all treasures, the doctrine of truth and grace. All the elements of religious feeling were fermenting in the agitated bosom of society, and a glowing enthusiasm was kindled in men's souls, which forced them by an irresistible impulse, into that glorious career opened by the Providence of God for the moral renovation of their race.

BOOK VII.

THE DIET OF WORMS. 1521, JANUARY TO MAY.

THE Reformation, engendered by the solitary struggles of a broken and contrite spirit, in a cell of the convent at Erfurth, had been gaining strength from the moment of its birth. A man of humble station, holding in his hand the Word of life, had stood erect in the presence of earthly dignities, and they had quailed before him. Armed with that Word alone, he had encountered first Tetzel and his numerous host, and after brief resistance those greedy traffickers had been driven from the field;—then the Roman legate at Augsburg, and the legate, in confusion, had suffered his prey to escape;—then again the learned divines, in the halls of Leipsic, and the astonished theologians had seen the weapons of their scholastic logic shivered in their hands;—lastly, when the Pope himself had started from his slumbers to launch his fiercest lightnings at the head of the offending monk—that same Word had again been the safeguard of him who trusted in it, and the arm of the spiritual despot had been stricken with palsy. One struggle more was yet to be endured; for the Word was destined to triumph over the Emperor of the West, over the kings and princes of many lands, and at length, having humbled all earthly opposition, to be exalted in the church, and there to reign supreme as the very Word of the living God.

A solemn diet was about to be convened,—the first assembly of the German States since the accession of Charles. Nuremberg, the city in which, by virtue of the Golden Bull, it ought to have been held, was at this time afflicted by the plague; it was therefore summoned to meet at Worms, on the 6th of January, 1521.* Never before had so many princes been present at the Diet; on this occasion all were desirous of taking a part in the first act of the young Emperor's government; all were ambitious of displaying their own grandeur. Among the rest the young Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who was afterwards to play so important a part in the Reformation, arrived at Worms about the middle of January, with a train of six hundred cavaliers, many of them highly distinguished for their military prowess.

A more powerful motive, however, had actuated the electors, the dukes, the archbishops, the landgraves, the margraves, the counts, the bishops, the barons and lords of the Empire, as well as the deputies of the free cities and the ambassadors of the various foreign sovereigns, whose gorgeous retinues were now pouring from every quarter into the city of Worms. Intimation had been given that the Diet would be occupied with the nomination of a Council of Regency to administer the government in the Emperor's absence, with the question regarding the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber, and with other weighty matters; but the public attention was chiefly fixed upon a subject distinct from all these, but which the Em-

* Sleidan, vol. i. p. 80.

peror had also mentioned in his letters of convocation,—namely, the Reformation. The great political interests of state faded into insignificance when contrasted with the cause of the monk of Wittemberg. This was the main topic of discourse among the dignified personages who were assembled in Worms.

Every thing indicated that the Diet would be a difficult and a boisterous one. Charles, at this early period, had not yet adopted a decided line of policy, his tutor and first minister died while the assembly was sitting,—many ambitious designs were on foot,—many conflicting passions at work,—the Spaniards and the Flemings were striving hard to exclude each other from the confidence of their youthful Sovereign,—the Nuncios were busily pursuing their artful schemes,—the German Princes had assumed a tone of independence. It was easy to foresee that a struggle was at hand in which all the subtleties of party intrigue would find ample exercise.*

How was Charles to act, between the the Papal Nuncio on the one hand, and the Elector to whom he was indebted for his crown on the other? How avoid giving offence either to Aleander or to Frederic? The former was continually urging the Emperor to execute the Pope's bull; the latter as perseveringly entreated him to take no steps against the monk until he should have allowed him a hearing. Desirous of satisfying both these contending parties the young Prince, during a temporary residence at Oppenheim, had written to the Elector to bring Luther to the Diet, on the assurance that no

* Es gieng aber auf diesem Reichstag gar schlüpferig zu. (Seckend. p. 326.)

injustice should be practised against him, that he should be protected from all violence, and that a free conference should be allowed him with men qualified to discuss the disputed points.

This letter from Charles, which was accompanied by others from his minister Chievres and the Count of Nassau, threw the Elector into great perplexity. He well knew that at any moment an alliance with the Pope might become necessary to the young and ambitious Emperor, and that Luther, in that case, would be lost. If he carried the Reformer to Worms, he might probably be conducting him to the scaffold. And yet the Emperor's orders were peremptory. The Elector desired Spalatin to inform Luther of the directions he had received. "Our enimies," observed the chaplain, "are straining every nerve to accomplish their design."*

The friends of Luther trembled, but he himself partook not of their fears. His health at that time was very weak; but this he heeded not. "If I cannot perform the journey to Worms as a man in good health," said he in his answer to the Elector, "I will be carried thither in a litter. For since the Emperor has summoned me, I can regard it only as the call of God. If they intend to use violence against me, as they probably do, for assuredly it is with no view of gaining information that they require me to appear before them; I commit the matter into the hands of God. He still lives and reigns who preserved the three Israelites in the fiery furnace. If it be not His will to save me, my life

* Adversarios omnia moliri ad maturandum id negotii. (L. Epp. i. p. 534.)

is little worth. Let us only take care that the Gospel be not exposed to the insults of the ungodly, and let us shed our blood in its defence rather than allow them to triumph. Who shall say whether my life or my death would contribute most to the salvation of my brethren? It is not for us to decide. Let us only pray God that our young Emperor may not begin his reign by imbruing his hands in my blood. I would rather perish by the sword of Rome. You remember the judgments with which the Emperor Sigismund was visited after the murder of John Huss. Expect any thing from me but flight or recantation.* Fly I cannot, still less can I recant."

Before Luther's letter reached him, the Elector had formed his resolution. This Prince, whose acquaintance with the Gospel was daily increasing, began now to adopt a more decided course. He was sensible that the conference at Worms could lead to no advantageous result. "It seems to me," he wrote to the Emperor, "that to bring Luther with me to Worms, would be an undertaking of much difficulty. I beg to be relieved from it. Moreover, it has never been my desire to favour his doctrines, but only to prevent him from being condemned unheard. The legates, without waiting for your sanction, took measures which were injurious both to Luther's honour and to mine; and I have reason to fear that he has been provoked to an act of imprudent retaliation, which, in the event of his appearance at Worms, might place him in

* Omnia de me præsumas præter fugam et palinodiam. (L. Epp. i. p. 536.)

extreme jeopardy." The Elector alluded to the burning of the Pope's bull.

But the report of Luther's intended appearance had already been circulated at Worms. The seekers after novelty heard it with joy,—the Imperial courtiers with alarm,—but by none was it received with so indignant a feeling as by the Papal legate. Aleander, on his way to the Diet, had had opportunities of seeing to what extent the Gospel proclaimed by Luther had found acceptance in every class of society. Academicians, lawyers, nobles, the inferior clergy, many even of the monks, and vast numbers of the common people, had embraced the Reformation.* The adherents of the new doctrines showed a fearless front, their language was frank and firm,—and, on the contrary, an unconquerable terror paralysed the partisans of Rome. The Papacy was standing yet, but those who were regarded as its pillars began to stagger, for their ears had already caught the presages of approaching ruin;—presages resembling that faint and dubious sound which alone gives brief warning when a mountain totters to its fall.† Aleander, in the course of his journey to Worms, was often subjected to the severest mortification. When he had occasion to halt in any spot for refreshment or repose, neither collegians, nor nobles, nor priests, even among those believed to be favourable to the

* Multitudo . . . turba pauperum nobilium . . . grammatici . . . causidici . . . inferiores ecclesiastici . . . factio multorum regularium . . . . (Pallavicini, i. p. 93.)

† Hæ omnes conditiones petulanter grassantium . . . metum cuilibet incutiebant. (Ib.)

Pope's cause, would venture to receive him, and the haughty Nuncio was obliged to seek shelter in the meanest inns.* Alarmed by these symptoms, Aleander concluded that his life was in danger. He arrived at Worms, with that idea uppermost in his mind, and his Roman fanaticism assumed additional bitterness from the sense of personal injury. He had immediate recourse to every means within his reach to prevent the audacious appearance of the formidable Luther.—"Would it not be a scandal," said he, "to see laymen instituting a fresh enquiry into a cause in which the Pope has already pronounced a sentence of condemnation?" To a Roman courtier nothing could be so unwelcome as an enquiry,—and, moreover, this was to have taken place in Germany, not at Rome, a circumstance in itself deeply affronting, even on the supposition of Luther being eventually condemned without a dissentient voice; but such result of the trial was uncertain. Might it not be feared that the man whose powerful eloquence had already done such deadly mischief might draw aside many of the princes and lords into the path of perdition? Aleander's remonstrances with Charles were of the most urgent character, he entreated, he threatened, he spoke in the lofty tone of one who represented the Head of the Church.† Charles gave way and wrote to the Elector that inasmuch as the time allowed to Luther had expired, he was now in the

* Neminem nactus qui auderet ipsum excipere ad vilia sordidaque hospitia ægre divertit. (Pallavicini, i. p. 93.)

† Legati Romani nolunt ut audiatur homo hæreticus. Minantur multa. (Zw. Epp. p. 157.)

condition of a man actually excommunicated by the Pope, and consequently, if he would not retract what he had written, Frederic must leave him at Wittemberg. But that prince had already commenced his journey without him. "I beseech the Lord," said Melancthon, when the Elector took his departure, "to deal graciously with our sovereign. On him rest all our hopes for the revival of Christianity. His enemies will stop at nothing, καὶ πάντα λίθον κινησομένοι,* but God will bring to nought the devices of Achitophel. As for us, let us perform our part in the conflict by our teachings and our prayers." Luther was much grieved that he was forbidden to appear at Worms.†

It was not enough for Aleander, however, that Luther was prevented from making his appearance at the diet,—he was bent on obtaining his condemnation. He returned incessantly to the charge with the princes, prelates, and other members of the assembly; he charged the Augustine not only with disobedience and heresy, but also with sedition, rebellion, impiety and blasphemy. But the very tones of his voice betrayed the passions by which he was actuated. "Hatred and the thirst of vengeance," an observer remarked, "are his motives, rather than any true zeal for religion;"‡ and in spite of

* *They will not leave a stone unturned.* (Corp. Ref. i. p. 279. 24 Jan.)

† Cum dolore legi novissimas Caroli litteras. (L. Epp. i. p. 542.)

‡ Magis invidiâ et vindictæ libidine quam zelo pietatis. (Hist. Joh. Cochlæi de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri. *Par.* 1556. *p.* 27. *verso.*—Cochlæus was one of Luther's greatest enemies. We shall shortly have to speak of him.)

the frequency and the vehemence of his harangues he pursuaded no one.* Some reminded him that the Pope's bull had only condemned Luther conditionally; others allowed indications to escape them of the joy they felt at seeing the pride of Rome brought down. The Emperor's ministers on the one hand, and the ecclesiastical Electors on the other, affected extreme coldness,—the former, in order that the Pope might perceive the necessity of contracting an alliance with their master, the latter that he might be compelled to purchase their co-operation at a higher price. A conviction of Luther's innocence was the prevailing sentiment in the assembly, and Aleander could not restrain his indignation.

But the coldness of the Diet he could better have brooked than the coldness which was now manifested by Rome. Rome, when at length, with much difficulty, she had been induced to treat the attack of the "drunken German" as a serious matter, never imagined that a bull emanating from the Sovereign Pontiff could fail to reduce him at once to complete and abject submission.—She had relapsed into her former security,† and neither bull nor coin did she now forward to Germany. Now, without money, how was it possible to manage an affair like this?‡ Rome must be roused, and Aleander accordingly sounds the alarm. "Germany," he wrote to the Cardinal de Medicis, "is falling away from Rome;—the Princes, I say, are

* Vehementibus suis orationibus parum promovit. (Cochlæus.)

† Negligens quædam securitas Romam pervaserat. (Pallavicini, i. p. 94.)

‡ Nec pecunia ad varios pro eadem sumptus. (Ibid.)

falling away from the Pope. A little more delay—a little more compromise—and the case becomes hopeless!—Money! Money! or Germany is lost!"

At this cry Rome awakes; the retainers of the Papacy assembled in the Vatican, cast aside their torpor, and hasten to forge fresh thunders of direful potency. The Pope issues a new bull,† and that excommunication, with which hitherto the heretical doctor had only been threatened, is now decidedly pronounced against him and against all his adherents. Rome, by thus wilfully snapping asunder the last thread that yet held him to her church, gave Luther more liberty, and consequently more power.—Assailed by the papal thunders, he cast himself, with a more ardent love, into the arms of Christ. Driven from the outward temple, he felt more deeply that he was a temple himself, inhabited by the Holy Spirit.

"It is a glorious thing to think of," said he, "that we sinners, believing in Christ and feeding on his flesh, should have him dwelling in us,—in all his power, his wisdom, and his righteousness,—for it is written, *Whosoever believeth in me, in him I abide.* O wonderful abode! marvellous tabernacle, how far excelling that which was set up by Moses! within, how magnificently adorned, with costly hangings and purple veils and implements of gold! and yet without, even like that other tabernacle which God commanded to be erected in the wilderness of Sinai

* Periculum denique amittendæ Germaniæ ex parsimoniâ monetæ cujusdam. (Ibid.)

† Decet Romanum pontificem, &c. (Roman. Bullarium.)

there is nothing to be seen but the coarse covering of rams' skins and goats' hair.* Often does the Christian stumble, and in his outward aspect all is weakness and reproach. But what matters it? —beneath that infirmity and foolishness of his, a power lies hid which the world cannot know, and which yet must overcome the world; for Christ abideth in him. I have sometimes seen Christians halting in their walk, and ready to fall, but when the hour came that they must wrestle with the enemy, or plead their Master's cause before the world, Christ on a sudden stirred within them, and so strong and valiant did they then become that Satan was dismayed and fled from their presence."†

Such an hour as he spoke of was soon to come upon himself; and Christ, who "abode" with him was then to be his present help. Rome in the mean time cast him off in scorn. The Reformer and all who took part with him, of whatsoever rank or degree, were anathematized, and were declared to have forfeited for themselves and their descendants, all their honours and their worldly goods. Every faithful Christian was enjoined, as he valued his own soul, to shun all intercourse with that accursed crew; in every place where the heresy had gained a footing, it was the duty of the priests on Sundays and holidays, at the hour of high mass, solemnly to publish the sentence of excommunication.—The sacred vessels and ornaments were to be removed from the altar,—the cross to be laid on the ground,—

* Exodus, xxvi. 7, 14.

† So regete sich der Christus, dass sie so fest wurden dass der Tuefel fliechen musste. (L. Opp. ix. p. 613, on John vi. 56.)

twelve priests, holding torches in their hands, were to light them first, and immediately to dash them down, and extinguish them by trampling them under foot; the bishop was then to proclaim the condemnation of those ungodly men; the bells were to be tolled; the bishop and the priests in concert were to chant anathemas and maledictions; and the service was to be concluded by a discourse of unsparing severity against Luther and his adherents.

Twenty-dwo days had elapsed since the publication of the sentence at Rome, though it probably had not yet transpired in Germany, when Luther having heard that it was again in contemplation to summon him to Worms, addressed a letter to the Elector, couched in such terms as to give that Prince the option of communicating it to the Diet. Luther was anxious to correct the erroneous notions entertained by the Princes who composed that august assembly,—and candidly to explain to them the true merits of a cause so little understood. "I rejoice with all my heart, most serene Prince," said he, "that his Imperial Majesty is disposed to have this affair brought before him. I call Christ to witness that it is the cause of the German nation, of the Catholic church, of the Christian world,—of God himself,—not the cause of a solitary, humble individual.* I am ready to repair to Worms, provided only that a safe-conduct, and learned, pious, and impartial judges be allowed me. I am ready to answer for myself,—for it is not in the spirit of

* Causam quæ, Christo teste, Dei, christiani orbis, ecclesiæ catholicæ et totius Germanicæ nationis, et non unius et privati est hominis. (L. Epp. i. p. 511.)

recklessness, nor for the sake of worldly profit, that I have taught the doctrine which is laid to my charge;—I have taught it in obedience to my conscience and to my oath as a doctor of the Holy Scriptures;—for God's glory have I taught it,—for the salvation of the Christian Church,—for the good of the German people,—for the rooting-out of gross superstition and grievous abuses,—the cure of innumerable evils,—the wiping away of foul disgrace,—the overthrow of tyranny, blasphemy and impiety in countless forms."

This declaration, made at so critical a moment of Luther's life deserves to be regarded with deep attention. Here we see the motives by which he was actuated, here are the secret springs which gave the first impulse of revival to the Christian community. We find no traces here of monkish emulation, or a desire to break loose from the restraint of monastic vows.

But all this was of little moment to mere politicians. An alliance with the Pope was every day becoming more necessary to the success of Charles's designs. Situated as he was between the Pope and the Elector, he could have wished either to separate Frederic from Luther, or to satisfy the Pope without offending Frederic. But how was this to be accomplished? Many of his courtiers treated the whole affair of the Augustine monk with that contemptuous indifference which politicians generally affect when the interests of religion are discussed. "Let us avoid all extreme measures," said they. "Let us entangle Luther in negociations, and silence him by the help of some partial conces-

sions. To stifle the flame, not fan it,— is the course of true policy. If the monk fall into the trap, we have gained our object. By accepting a compromise, he will fix a gag on his own mouth and ruin his cause. To save appearances, a few external reforms must be granted,—the Elector will be satisfied, the Pope will be conciliated, and things will go on once more in the ordinary track."

Such was the plan devised by the confidants of the Emperor. The doctors of Wittemberg appear to have discovered this new artifice. "They are trying to gain men over secretly," said Melancthon, "and mining in the dark."* John Glapio, the Emperor's confessor, a man in high repute, an adroit courtier, and a wily monk, was charged with the execution of the scheme. Glapio possessed the full confidence of Charles, who, adopting in this particular the Spanish custom, abandoned to him almost entirely the care of all matters relating to religion. Charles had no sooner been elevated to the Imperial throne, than Leo hastened to gain the good will of Glapio by marks of favour which the confessor warmly acknowledged.† He could not better discharge his debt of gratitude to the Pontiff than by silencing the new-born heresy, and accordingly he applied himself to the work.‡

Among the councillors of the Elector of Saxony,

* Clanculum tentent et experiantur. . . (Corp. Reform. i. p. 281. 3 Feb.)

† Benignis officiis r cens a Pontifice delinitus . . (Pallavicini, i. p. 90.)

‡ Et sane in eo 'o'o negotio singulare probitatis ardorisque specimen dedit. (Ibid.)

one who held a conspicuous place was Gregory Bruck, or Pontanus, a man distinguished for intelligence, decision, and courage, whose skill in divinity might have shamed all the doctors; while his wisdom was adequate to baffle the united craft of all the monks in the court of Charles the Fifth. Glapio, knowing the influence which the Chancellor possessed, requested an interview with him, and introducing himself, as though he had been a friend of the Reformer: "I was filled with joy," said he in a kindly tone, "when I read the first writings of Luther; I looked upon him as a vigorous tree that had shot forth goodly branches and gave promise to the Church of the most precious fruit. Many others, it is true, had entertained the same views as he; but none had so nobly and undauntedly proclaimed the truth. But when I read his book on the Babylonian Captivity, I felt like a man stunned and overwhelmed by a shower of blows from head to foot. I cannot believe," added the monk, "that brother Martin will avow himself the author of it; it is marked neither by his peculiar style, nor by the learning he elsewhere evinces." After some discussion the Confessor continued: "Conduct me to the Elector, and in your presence I will shew him where Luther has erred."

The Chancellor replied that the business of the Diet left his Highness no leisure, and moreover, that he took no part in that affair. The monk, to his great vexation, found his request eluded. "Nevertheless," said the Chancellor, "since you say there is no evil without a remedy, be pleased to explain yourself."

Assuming a confidential air, the Confessor answered: "The Emperor earnestly desires to see a man like Luther reconciled to the Church; for his books (before the publication of the treatise on the *Babylonian Captivity*) were by no means disagreeable to his Majesty.* That last work of Luther's was, doubtless, written under the irritation of feeling excited by the bull. Let him but declare that he had no intention to disturb the peace of the Church, and the learned of every nation will join hands with him. Procure me an audience of his Highness."

The Chancellor waited on the Elector again. Frederic well knew that any retractation whatsoever was impossible. "Tell the Confessor," said he, "that I cannot comply with his wish, but continue your conference with him."

Glapio received this message with many demonstrations of respect, and shifting his ground he said: "Let the Elector name some persons in whom he places confidence to deliberate on this affair."

The Chancellor. "The Elector does not profess to be Luther's advocate."

The Confessor. "Well, then, you and I, at least, can take the matter up. Christ is my witness that I urge this from love to the Church, and to Luther himself, who has opened so many hearts to the truth."†

The Chancellor having refused to undertake a

* Es haben dessen Bücher Ihro Majestät . . . um et was gefallen. (Archives of Weimar.—Seckend. p. 315.)

† Der andern das Hertz zu vielem Guten eroffnet . . (Seckend. p. 315.)

task which properly belonged to the Reformer himself, was about to withdraw.

"Stay!" said the monk.

THE CHANCELLOR. "What is your wish?"

THE CONFESSOR. "Let Luther deny that he is the author of the *Babylonian Captivity*."

THE CHANCELLOR. "But the Pope's bull condemns all his other works."

THE CONFESSOR. "That was because of his obstinacy. If he disclaims that book, the Pope, in virtue of his plenary authority, can easily reverse the sentence of excommunication. What may we not hope for, now that we have so excellent an Emperor?"

Perceiving that these words had made some impression on the Chancellor, the monk followed them up by observing: "Luther always wants to argue from the Bible. The Bible—it is like wax, you may stretch and mould it any way that you please. I would undertake to find authority in the Bible for doctrines more extravagant even than Luther's. He runs into error by interpreting every word of Christ as a command." Wishing next to act upon the other's fears, he added, "What would the issue be, if to-morrow or the next day, the Emperor were to have recourse to arms? . . . . Think of that."

The Confessor's artifices were not yet exhausted. "A man might have lived ten years in his company," says Erasmus, "without having fathomed him at last."

"What an excellent book," said he to the Chancellor on his next visit, a few days afterwards, "is that work of Luther's on Christian liberty! What

wisdom, what learning, what wit does it display; it is the production of a scholar, indeed! . . . . Let men of irreproachable character be chosen on both sides, and let the Pope and Luther agree to abide by their judgment. In many articles it is past a doubt that a decision would be in Luther's favour.* . . . . I will speak to the Emperor about it myself. Believe me, I am not without grounds for what I say to you. I have told the Emperor that the chastisements of God would fall upon him and the princes also, unless the Church, the spouse of Christ, were cleansed from all those stains which now defile her. I told him too, that God had raised up Luther, and given him a commission to reprove men for their sins, using him as a rod to punish the offences of the world."†

These words we may receive as the echo of the popular voice at that period, and as testifying the opinion which was then entertained of Luther, even by his enemies. The Chancellor, roused by what the monk had just said, could not help expressing his surprise that his master should be treated with so little deference. "The Emperor holds daily consultations on this affair," said he, "and the Elector is invited to none of them. He thinks it strange that the Emperor, to whom he has rendered some service, should exclude him from his councils."

The Confessor. "I was never present at any of those deliberations but once, and on that occasion

* Es sey nicht zu zweifeln dass Lutherus in vielen Artickeln werde den Sieg davon tragen. . . . (Seck p. 319.)

† Dass Gott diesen Mann gesandt, ... dass er eine Geissel seye um der Sünden willen. (Weimar Archiv.—Seck. p. 320.)

I heard the Emperor resist the importunities of the legates. Five years hence it will be seen what Charles has done for the reformation of the Church."

"The Elector," replied Pontanus, "knows nothing of Luther's intentions. Let him be summoned hither to speak for himself."

The Confessor replied, with a deep sigh:* "I call God to witness how ardently I desire to see the reformation of Christendom accomplished."

To slacken the course of the affair, to keep Luther's mouth closed in the mean time; this was the sum of what Glapio aimed at. At all events, to prevent Luther from coming to Worms. To the nuncios, the monks, and the rest of the papal phalanx, a dead man returning from the other world, and appearing in the midst of the Diet, would not have been so fearful a spectacle as the bodily presence of the Doctor of Wittemberg.

"How many days does it take to travel from Wittemberg to Worms?" inquired the Confessor in a tone of affected indifference, and immediately departed, having first entreated Pontanus to present his very respectful salutations to the Elector.

Such were the stratagems practised by the courtiers. The firmness of Pontanus disconcerted them all. That upright man was unmoved as a rock throughout the whole course of these proceedings. And in the end the monks themselves fell into the snare which they had laid for their enemies. "The Christian," said Luther, in his figurative language,

* Glapio that hierauf einen tiefen Seufzer, un rufte Gott zum Zeugen. . . (Seckend. p. 321.)

"is like the bird tethered beside a trap. Wolves and foxes prowl around it, and at length spring upon their prey; but they fall into the pit, and perish there, while that timorous bird remains unharmed. Thus it is that we are preserved by the holy Angels, and those devouring wolves, the hypocrites and persecutors, are restrained from doing us any hurt."* Not only were the artifices of the Confessor unavailing, but the admissions he had made confirmed Frederic in his opinion that Luther was in the right, and that it was his duty to protect him.

The hearts of men were still inclining more strongly towards the Gospel. A Dominican prior proposed that the Emperor, the kings of France, Spain, England, Portugal, Hungary, and Poland, the Pope, and the Electors, should name representatives, to whom the determination of the controversy should be committed. "A case like this," it was urged, "has never been decided by the Pope alone."† Such was the spirit now every where prevalent, that it seemed impossible to condemn Luther without having heard and convicted him.‡

Aleander, in the height of his alarm, displayed unwonted energy. It was no longer against the Elector and Luther alone that he had to contend. The secret negotiations of the Confessor, the plan

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii p. 1655.

† Und niemals dem Papst allein geglaubt. (Seck. p. 323.)

‡ Spalatinus scribit tantum favoris Evangelio esse istic ut me inauditum et inconvictum damnari non speret. (L. Epp. i. p. 556. 9 Feb.)

of accommodation proposed by the Dominican, the acquiescence of Charles's ministers, the coldness of Romish piety even among the most devoted friends of the Pontiff,—a coldness which Pallavicini likens to that produced by the gush of some icy stream,*—all these circumstances Aleander viewed with a foreboding eye. He had at length received from Rome the money he had applied for; he had in his possession briefs couched in the strongest language, and addressed to the highest authorities in the Empire.† Fearful lest his victim should escape him, he conceived that now was the time to strike the decisive blow. He forwarded the briefs to the several parties to whom they were directed, he scattered silver and gold with an unsparing hand, he lavished the most alluring promises, "and aided by his three-fold machinery," says the Cardinal, whose narrative we follow, "made a fresh effort to draw the wavering assembly to the Pope's side."‡ For the Emperor he planted his snares with special diligence. He took advantage of the dissensions between the Flemish and Spanish ministers. He laid incessant siege to the Sovereign's ear. The friends of Rome, waking at his call from their torpor, pressed the youthful Charles with their united solicitations. "Not a day passes," wrote the Elector to his brother John, "but measures hostile to Luther are brought forward! his enemies now demand that he should be placed under the ban of

* Hinc a jua manabat, quæ succensæ pietatis æstum restinguebat. (Pallavicini, i. p. 96.)

† Mandata, pecuniæ et diplomata. (Ibid. i. p 95.)

‡ Triplici hac industria nunc Aleander . . . (Ibid.)

the Pope and the Emperor jointly; to injure him by every possible method is their single aim. The men who parade their red hats before us,—the Romans and their followers,—pursue this work with an unwearied zeal."*

Aleander did, in reality, urge the condemnation of the Reformer with an impetuosity which Luther himself designates as "incredible fury."† The *Apostate* Nuncio,‡ as Luther calls him, was on one occasion transported by his anger so far beyond the bounds of caution, that he cried aloud:—"If ye seek to shake off your allegiance to Rome, ye Germans! we will bring things to such a pass, that ye shall unsheath the sword of extermination against each other, and perish in your own blood."§ "It is in this way that the Pope feeds Christ's sheep," observes the Reformer.

But much unlike this was the language he used himself. For his own sake he asked nothing. "Luther," said Melancthon, "is ready to purchase the glory and advancement of the Gospel at the cost of his own life."‖ But he trembled when he thought of the calamities of which his death might be the signal. He saw a misguided people avenging his martyrdom, probably by shedding the blood of his adversaries, and especially that of the

* Das thun die in rothen Hüten prangen. (Seck. 364.)

† Miro furore Papistæ moliuntur mihi mala. (L. Epp. i. p. 556.)

‡ Nuntius apostaticus (playing on the word "apostolical,") agit summis viribus. (L. Epp. i. p. 569.)

§ Ut mutuis cædibus absumpti vestro cruore pereatis. (Ibid. p. 556.)

‖ Libenter etiam morte suâ Evangelii gloriam et profectum emerit. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 285.)

priests. He deprecated so terrible a responsibility. "God," said he, "is restraining the fury of his enemies; but if it break loose .... then shall we see a storm bursting on the heads of the priests like that which formerly swept over Bohemia and laid it waste. I shall not have to answer for this, for I have made it my earnest prayer that the German Princes would oppose the Romans by the wisdom of their counsel, *not by the sword.** To war against priests, a timid and helpless tribe, is to war against women and children."

Charles the Fifth did not long hold out against the solicitations of the Nuncio. The bigotry he inherited from his Flemish and Spanish ancestors had been successfully fostered by his preceptor Adrian, who at a later period ascended the Pontifical throne. But it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the States. "Convince the *Diet*," said the youthful Monarch. This was exactly what Aleander desired; it was agreed that he should be introduced to the assembly on the 13th of February.

The Nuncio duly prepared himself for that solemn audience. It was a weighty task that had been imposed upon him; but Aleander was worthy to sustain it. He was not merely the legate and representative of the Sovereign Pontiff, invested with all the outward dignity befitting his exalted functions,—he was also one of the most eloquent men of his age. The friends of the Reformation waited the result in some anxiety. The Elector, under the pretext of indisposition, absented himself from the

* Non ferro, sed consiliis et edictis. (L. Epp. i. p. 56.)

sitting; but he instructed some of his councillors to attend and to take notes of the Nuncio's discourse.

On the appointed day, Aleander proceeded to the Imperial Assembly. The feelings of the people were strongly excited, many called to mind how Annas and Caiaphas had gone to the judgment-hall of Pilate to demand the death of him "*who perverted the nation.*"* At the moment when the Nuncio had his foot upon the threshold, the usher of the Diet, says Pallavicini, rudely stepping up to him, set his clenched fist against his breast and thrust him back.† "He was a Lutheran in his heart," adds the Romish historian. If this anecdote is true, it certainly shews an unseemly excess of passion in the individual, but it also enables us to judge how powerful an effect had been produced by Luther's teaching, even among those who kept the doors of the Germanic Council. The high-spirited Aleander, repressing the officer's insolence by his dignified demeanour, walked forward and entered the hall. Never had Rome been summoned to plead her cause before so august an assembly. The Nuncio placed before him such documents as he thought necessary to certify the sentence of condemnation, together with the writings of Luther and the Papal bulls, and then, silence having been proclaimed in the Diet, he spoke as follows:—

"Most august Emperor! most potent Princes! most excellent Deputies! I appear before you to advocate the cause which engages the warmest

* Luke xxiii. 2.

† .... Pugnis ejus pectori admotis repulerit (Pallavicini, i. p 112.)

affections of my heart. My office is to guard the ever-hallowed tiara that rests on the brows of my master, to uphold that Pontifical throne in whose defence I would gladly deliver my body to the flames, were I only assured that the newly spawned heresy which I stand forth to denounce would perish along with me.*

"I deny the assertion that the controversy between Luther and Rome is one in which the Pope alone is interested. I have Luther's writings here before me, and any man who has his eyesight may see that they attack the holy doctrines of the Church. He teaches that those alone are worthy communicants whose consciences are filled with sorrow and confusion on account of their sins, and that baptism justifies no one unless he hath *faith* in that word of promise of which baptism is the pledge.† He denies the necessity of good works to qualify us for everlasting glory. He denies that we have liberty and power to obey the law of nature and the law of God. He affirms that we sin of necessity in all our actions.

* Dummodo mecum unà monstrum nascentis hæresis arderet (Pallavicini, i. p. 97.) Seckendorf, and after him other Protestant historians, have asserted that Pallavicini himself is the author of the speech which he puts into the mouth of Aleander. It is true that the Cardinal admits having moulded it into the shape in which he presents it to his readers; but he specifies the materials he has used, and among these Aleander's letters deposited in the archives of the Vatican. (Acta Wormatiæ, fol 66 and 99.) I think, therefore, that to reject it altogether would be injudicious. I have collected some additional passages of the speech from other sources, Protestant and Romish.

† Baptismum neminem justificare, sed fidem in verbum promissionis cui additur Baptismus. (Cochlæus, Act. Luth. 28.)

Have weapons better fitted than these to sever all the ties of morality ever been drawn from the arsenal of hell? . . . . He contends for the abrogation of religious vows. What miserable disorder would the world behold, if those who were designed to be the leaven of their race were to cast aside their sacred vestments, forsake the temples that once resounded with their holy songs, and plunge at once into adultery, incest, and licentiousness.

"Why should I enumerate all the crimes of this audacious monk? He sins against the dead, for he denies the existence of purgatory; he sins against heaven, for he says that he would not believe an angel sent from heaven; he sins against the church, for he maintains that *all* Christians are priests; he sins against the saints, for he treats their venerable writings with contempt; he sins against Councils, far he calls the Council of Constance an assembly of devils; he sins against the secular power, for he forbids the punishment of death to be inflicted on any one who has not committed a mortal sin.* There are people who tell us that he is a man of piety. I will not impugn his private character; I will only remind this assembly that it is a common thing for the devil to deceive men under the appearance of sanctity."

Aleander next adverted to the decree of the Council of Florence, condemning the doctrine of purgatory, and laid the Pope's bull regarding that council at the Emperor's feet. The Archbishop of Mentz

* Weil er verbiete jemand mit Todes Strafe zu belegen der nicht ein Todtsünde begangen. (Seckend. p. 333.)

took up the bull and gave it into the hands of the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, who received it reverently, and handed it to the other Princes. The Nuncio having thus preferred his charge against Luther, proceeded in his second object, the justification of Rome.

"Luther tells us that at Rome the lips profess what the life belies. If this be true, must not the inference we draw from it be exactly the opposite of his. If the ministers of any religion live in accordance with its precepts, that very token proves the religion to be false. Such was the religion of the ancient Romans. Such is that of Mahomet, and that of Luther himself; but such is not the religion taught us by the Roman Pontiffs. No! the *doctrine* they profess condemns them all as having failed in their duty, many of them as highly blame-worthy, some, I frankly confess it, as deeply criminal* . . . . By that doctrine their actions are delivered over to the censure of men's tongues while they live, to the execration of history after their death.† Now what pleasure, or what profit, I ask, can the Pontiffs have proposed to themselves in inventing a religion like this?

"The Church, we shall be told, in the early ages was not governed by the Roman pontiffs . . . . and what is the inference here? If an argument like this is to have any weight, we may next exhort men

* . . . . Multos ut quadantenus reos, nonnullos (dicam ingenuè) ut scelestos. (Pallavicini, i. p. 101.)

† Linguarum vituperationi dum vivunt, historiarum infamiæ post mortem. (Ibid.)

to feed upon acorns, or princesses of royal blood to go forth and wash their garments by the river side."

But the Nuncio's main attack was directed personally against his antagonist the Reformer. Adverting indignantly to the opinion expressed by some, that Luther ought to be heard: "Luther," cried he, "will allow himself to be set right by no one. Long ago the Pope summoned him to Rome, but he obeyed not the call. The Pope then required him to appear before his legate at Augsburg, and he did appear there, when he had obtained a safe-conduct from the Emperor,—that is to say, when the legate's hands were tied, and the use of his tongue alone allowed him* . . . . Oh," said Aleander, turning towards Charles, "I beseech your Imperial Majesty not to do that which could only reflect dishonour upon your name. Meddle not with an affair in which the laity have no right to interpose. Discharge the duty that properly devolves upon you. Let Luther's doctrines be proscribed by your authority throughout the Empire,—let his writings be everywhere committed to the flames. Shrink not from the path of justice. There is enough in the errors of Luther to warrant the burning of a hundred thousand heretics.† And whom have we to fear? The multitude? Their insolence makes them formidable while the battle is delayed, but when it comes, their cowardice will

* Quod idem erat ac revinctis legati brachiis et linguâ solum solutâ. (Pallavicini, i. p. 109.)

† Dass 100,000 Ketzer ihrenthalben verbrannt werden. (Seck. p. 232.)

render them contemptible. Foreign princes? Nay! the King of France has issued an edict to prevent Luther's doctrine from gaining an entrance into his dominions; the King of England is preparing to combat him with his own royal pen. The opinion of Hungary, Italy, and Spain it is for yourself to declare, and there is not one of your neighbours, how great soever their hatred against you, who would wish you so much mischief as this heresy must entail upon you. For if our enemy dwells close beside us, we may, perhaps, desire that the ague should enter his house, but not the plague. What are all these Lutherans? A motley rabble of insolent grammarians, licentious priests, disorderly monks, ignorant advocates, degraded nobles, misled and perverted plebeians. How greatly superior is the Catholic party in numbers, in intelligence, in power? An unanimous decree of this illustrious assembly will open the eyes of the simple, shew the unwary their danger, determine the wavering, and strengthen the weak-hearted. But if the axe be not laid to the root of this venomous plant,—if the death-blow be not dealt against it,—then I behold it covering Christ's heritage with its branches, changing the vineyard of the Lord into a howling wilderness, converting God's kingdom into a haunt of wild beasts; plunging Germany into the same wretched condition of barbarism and desolation to which Asia has been reduced by the superstition of Mahomet."

The Nuncio concluded his address. He had spoken for three hours. His impetuous eloquence had produced a strong sensation in the assembly.

The Princes looked at each other, Cochlæus tells us, with countenances that betrayed excitement and alarm, and murmurs were soon heard to arise from various quarters against Luther and those who supported him.* If the energetic Luther had been present to reply to this address;—if, taking advantage of those admissions which the remembrance of the infamous Borgia, his former master, had wrung from the Roman orator, he had shewn that the very arguments by which the Nuncio attempted to defend Rome were sufficient to condemn her; if he had demonstrated that the doctrine which bore witness to her iniquity was not that invented by her, as the orator had said, but was that pure religion which *Christ* had given to the world, and which it was the aim of the Reformation to re-establish in its primitive lustre; if he had drawn a faithful and vivid picture of the errors and abuses of the Papacy, and pointed out how it converted the religion of Jesus Christ into an engine of self-aggrandisement and spoliation: the effect of the Nuncio's harangue would have been utterly and at once destroyed;—but no one rose to speak. The assembly continued under the influence of the address, and, in the first moments of agitation and excitement, it manifested a strong desire to root out the Lutheran heresy from the soil of the Empire.†

Nevertheless this victory was won in appearance

* Vehementer exterriti atque commoti alter alterum intuebantur atque in Lutherum ejusque fautores murmurare pergunt. (Cochlæus, p. 28.)

† Lutheranam hæresin esse funditus evellendam. (Pallavicini, ibid. Roscoe's Life of Leo X. vol. iv.)

only. It was the will of God that Rome should have an opportunity of displaying the utmost strength of her cause with her utmost skill. The greatest of her orators had spoken in this assembly of Princes; he had said all that Rome had to say in her own behalf; but to many of those who heard him, this last effort of the Papacy was destined to serve as a sign of its abasement. If the open confession of truth be required to secure its triumph, so also the unreserved exhibition of error is the necessary prelude of its overthrow. Neither of them can accomplish its course in secret. The light brings all thing to the test.

A few days were sufficient to efface the impression produced by the speech,—as is always the case when an orator has recourse to high-sounding words to cover the hollowness of his reasoning. The majority of the Princes were ready to sacrifice Luther, but none were disposed to abandon the rights of the Empire, or to suppress the grievances of the Germanic nation. They were willing enough to give up the insolent monk who had dared to speak out so plainly; but their compliance in this particular entitled them, as they thought, to represent to the Pope more urgently the justice of a reform, demanded by the concurrent voice of the chiefs of the nation. And accordingly it was the most determined of Luther's personal enemies, Duke George of Saxony, who spoke with the greatest earnestness against the encroachments of Rome. This Prince, the grandson of Podiebrad king of Bohemia, though offended by the doctrine of grace taught by the Reformer, still looked forward with

hope to a Reformation, moral and ecclesiastical. The chief cause of his irritation against the monk of Wittemberg was, that, by those obnoxious doctrines of his, he was spoiling the whole affair. But now, when he found the Nuncio studiously involving Luther and the Reformation of the Church in one and the same sentence of condemnation, Duke George suddenly stood up to speak in the assembly of the Princes, to the great astonishment of those who knew his hostility to the Reformer. "The Diet," said he, "must not lose sight of the grievances of which it has to claim redress from the Court of Rome. How numerous are the abuses that have crept into our dominions! The annats, which the Emperor granted of his free will for the good of religion, now exacted as a due; the Roman courtiers daily inventing new regulations to favour the monopoly, the sale, the leasing out of ecclesiastical benefices; a multitude of offences connived at; a scandalous toleration granted to rich offenders, while those who have not wherewithal to purchase impunity are severely punished; the Popes continually bestowing reversions and rent charges on the officers of their palace to the prejudice of those to whom the benefices rightfully belong; the abbeys and convents of Rome given *in commendam* to cardinals, bishops, and prelates, who apply their revenues to their own use,—so that in many convents where there ought to be twenty or thirty monks, not one is to be found;—*stations* multiplied to excess;—shops for indulgences opened in every street and square of our cities,—shops of Saint Anthony, of the Holy Ghost, of Saint Hu-

bert, of Saint Vincent, and I know not how many more;—societies contracting at Rome for the privilege of setting up this trade,—then purchasing from their bishop the right of exposing their merchandise to sale: and finally to meet all this outlay of money, squeezing and draining the last coin out of the poor man's purse;—indulgences which ought to be granted only with a view to the salvation of souls, and procured only by prayer amd fasting and works of charity,—sold for a price;—the officials of the bishops oppressing men of low degree with penances for blasphemy, or adultery, or drunkenness, or profanation of this or that festival,—but never addressing so much as a rebuke to ecclesiastics who are guilty of the same crimes,—penances so devised as to betray the penitent into a repetition of his offence, in order that more money may be exacted from him:*—these are but a few of the abuses which cry out on Rome for redress. All shame is laid aside, and one object alone incessantly pursued,—money! evermore money!—so that the very men whose duty it is to disseminate the truth are engaged in nothing but the propagation of falsehood, and yet they are not merely tolerated but rewarded;—because the more they lie the larger are their gains. This is the foul source from which so many corrupted streams flow out on every side. Profligacy and avarice go hand in hand. The officials summon women to their houses on various pretences, and endeavour, either by threats or by presents, to seduce them,—and if the attempt fails,

* Sondern dass er es bald wieder begehe und mehr Geld erlegen müsse. (Archives of Weimar.—Seckend. p. 328.)

they ruin their reputation.* Oh! it is the scandal occasioned by the clergy that plunges so many poor souls into everlasting perdition. A thorough reform must be effected. To accomplish that reform a General Council must be assembled. Wherefore, most excellent Princes and Lords, I respectfully beseech you to give this matter your immediate attention." Duke George then presented a written catalogue of the grievances he had enumerated. This happened a few days after Aleander's address. The important document has been preserved in the archives of Weimar.

Luther himself had not spoken with greater energy against the abuses of Rome, but he had *done* something more. The Duke pointed out the evil,—Luther along with the evil had pointed out also its cause and its cure. He had shewn that the sinner receives the true *indulgence*,—that remission of sins which comes from God,—solely by faith in the grace and merits of Christ;—and by this simple yet powerful truth he had overthrown all the traffic which had been established by the priests. "How shall a man become holy?" said he one day. "A cordelier will reply: put on a grey hood and tie a cord round your middle. A Roman will answer: Hear mass and fast. But a Christian will say: *Faith in Christ*—and that alone—justifies and saves. We must have eternal life before good works. But when we are born anew

* Dass sie Weisbesbilder unter mancherley Schein beschicken selbige sodann mit Drohungen und Geschenken zu fällen suchen, oder in einen bösen Verdacht bringen. (Weimar. Archiv.—Seck. p. 330.)

and made children of God by the word of grace, —then we perform good works."*

The Duke's language was that of a secular prince; Luther's that of a true Reformer. The great sin of the Church was that she had thrown down the barriers that separated her from the world,—that she had converted all her operations and all her benefits into external and material things. In the last stage of her contamination, she had embraced the scheme of indulgences, and the most spiritual blessing that belongs to Christianity,—pardon,—was now to be bought at a stall like food or drink! Luther's great achievement consisted in this,—that he took advantage of that extremity of degradation into which Christianity had sunk, to lead back individuals and the Church to the original fountain of life,—and to re-establish the supremacy of the Holy Spirit in the sanctuary of the believer's heart. The remedy in this case, as in many others, arose out of the evil itself, and the two extremes touched each other. Henceforward the Church, which for so many ages had been content with an external manifestation by ceremonies and observances and practices of human authority, began once more to seek her development within, in faith, hope and charity.

The Duke's speech produced the greater effect, on account of his well-known opposition to Luther. Other members of the Diet brought forward other grievances. Even the ecclesiastical princes supported these complaints.† "We have a Pontiff," said they, "who is occupied only with pleasure and

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii p. 748. 752.

† Seckend. Vorrede von Frick.

the chase; the church preferment of Germany is bestowed at Rome on gunners, falconers, valets, ass-drivers, grooms, guardsmen, and other people of the same stamp, ignorant, inexperienced, and strangers to our nation."*

The Diet nominated a Committee to draw up a list of grievances; the enumeration extended to a hundred and one. A deputation composed of secular and ecclesiastical princes presented this report to the Emperor, with an earnest request that he would do them right in the matter,—conformably to the engagement he had contracted on his elevation to the throne. "What a loss of Christian souls," said they to Charles, "what injustice, what extortion are the daily fruits of those scandalous practices to which the spiritual head of Christendom affords his countenance. The ruin and dishonour of our nation must be averted. We therefore very humbly, but very urgently, beseech you to sanction a general Reformation, to undertake the work, and to carry it through."† The Christian community at this period was operated upon by an unknown power, which descended alike on princes and people,—a wisdom from above which exerted its influence even on the adversaries of reform, and prepared the way for that great deliverance whose appointed hour was now at hand.

Charles could not be insensible to the remon-

* Bucksenmeistern, Falknern, Pfistern, Eseltreibern, Stallknechsen, Trabanten . . . . Kapps Nachlese nützl. (Ref. Urkunden, iii. p. 262.)

† Dass eine Besserung und gemeine Reformation geschehe. (Ibid. p. 275.)

strances of the Imperial Diet. Neither the Nuncio nor the Emperor had anticipated them. The latter immediately withdrew the edict which commanded Luther's writings to be committed to the flames in every part of the Empire, and issued in its stead a provisional order that all copies of those writings should be delivered into the hands of the magistrates.

This did not satisfy the assembly; it demanded Luther's appearance. It is unjust, said his friends, to condemn Luther without having heard him, and without having ascertained from his own lips that he is the author of those books which it is proposed to burn. His doctrine, said his adversaries, has taken so fast a hold on men's minds, that it is impossible to check its progress, unless we allow him a hearing. There shall be no disputing with him; and in the event of his acknowledging his writings, and refusing to retract them, we will all with one accord, Electors, Princes, and States of the holy Empire, in firm adherence to the faith of our ancestors, give your Majesty our unsparing aid to carry your decrees into full effect.*

Aleander, disturbed by this proposal, and dreading every thing from Luther's intrepidity and the ignorance of the Princes before whom he would have to plead, made strenuous efforts to prevent his being summoned. After conferring with Charles's ministers, he went to those Princes who were best disposed towards the Pope, and from them to the Emperor himself.† "It is not permitted," said he,

* L. Opp. (L.) 22. p. 567.

† Quam ob rem sedulo contestatus est apud Cæsaris administros. (Pallav. i. p. 113.)

"to question what the Sovereign Pontiff has decreed. There shall be no disputing with Luther, you say; but how can we be sure," he continued, "that the genius of this audacious man, the fire that flashes from his eyes, the eloquence of his speech, the mysterious spirit that animates him, will not suffice to excite a tumult.* Already there are many who revere him as a saint, and his image is every where to be seen encircled with rays of glory, like those which surround the heads of the blessed. If he must needs be cited to appear, beware, at all events, of pledging the public faith for his safety."† These last words were calculated to intimidate Luther, or to pave the way for his destruction.

The Nuncio found it easy to influence the grandees of Spain. In the intensity of their fanatic zeal, they panted for the annihilation of the new heresy. Frederic, duke of Alva, in particular, was thrown into a fit of rage, as often as the Reformation was mentioned.‡ It would have delighted him to wade knee-deep in the blood of its proselytes. The summons for Luther's appearance was yet suspended, but his name had become a watchword of startling interest in the ears of all the magnates of Christendom then assembled at Worms.

The man by whom the powers of the earth were thus shaken seemed alone to enjoy peace. The tidings from Worms were alarming; even Luther's

* Linguâ promptus, ardore vultus et oris spiritu ad concitandam seditionem. (Pallav. i. p. 113.)

† Haud certe fidem publicam illi præbendam. (Ibid.)

‡ Albæ dux videbatur aliquando furentibus modis agitari. (Ibid.)

friends were dismayed. "Nothing is left to us but your good-will and your prayers," wrote Melancthon to Spalatin. "Oh that God would vouchsafe to make our blood the price of the Christian world's deliverance!"* But Luther, a stranger to all fear, shutting himself up in his quiet cell, fixed his meditations, with an immediate reference to his own case, on these ecstatic words of Mary, the mother of Jesus: "*My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. . . For he that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is his name. . . He hath shewed strength with his arm. . . He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree.*"† Let us review some of the thoughts which passed through Luther's heart. "*He that is mighty . . .* saith Mary. Oh what boldness of speech in this young virgin! By a single word she brands all the strong with weakness—all the mighty with faintness—all the wise with folly—all those whose name is glorious on the earth with disgrace;—and casts all strength, all might, all wisdom, all glory, at the feet of God alone‡ . . . *His arm*, she says again, —signifying the power by which he acts of himself, without the aid of any of his creatures,—that mysterious power which operates in secret and in silence until it has accomplished all his will . . . Destruction comes when none has marked its approach—deliverance comes when none has dared to look for it. He

* Utinam Deus redimat nostro sanguine salutem Christiani populi. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 362.)

† Luke i. p. 46—55.

‡ *Magnificat.* L. Opp. Wittemb. Deutsch. Ausg. iii. p. 11, &c.

leaves his children in oppression and misery, so that every one says within himself, They are past all hope! But even then is He strongest; for when man's strength ends, God's strength begins. Only let *faith* wait upon him ... And at another time He suffers his enemies to exalt themselves in their pomp and vain glory. He withdraws from them the succour of his strength, and leaves them to be puffed up with their own.* He empties them of His eternal wisdom, and permits them to be inflated with their own wisdom, which is but for a day; and then, when the eyes of their fellow men are dazzled with their greatness, God's arm is lifted up, and lo! the fabric they have been rearing disappears in a moment, like a bubble bursting in the air!"

It was on the 10th of March, while the imperial city was trembling at his name, that Luther concluded his commentary on the *Magnificat*.

He was not long to be left undisturbed in his retreat. Spalatin, in obedience to the orders of the Elector, sent him a note of the articles which he would be called on to retract. A retractation after his refusal at Augsburg! "Never fear," he wrote to Spalatin, "that I will retract a single syllable, since the only argument they have to urge against me is that my writings are at variance with the observances of what they call the Church. If our Emperor Charles sends for me only to retract, my answer shall be that I will remain here, and it will be all the same as though I had been at Worms and returned again. But if the Emperor chooses

* Er zieht seine Kraft heraus und lässt sie von eigener Kraft sich aufblasen. (L. Opp. Wittemb. Deutsch. Ausg. iii. p. 11, &c.)

then to send for me to put me to death as an enemy to the Empire, I shall be ready to obey his summons:* for, by Christ's help, I will never abandon His word in the hour of battle. I know that these blood-thirsty men will never rest till they have taken my life. God grant that my death may be laid to the charge of the Papists alone!"

The Emperor at length had formed his resolution. Luther's appearance before the Diet seemed the only probable method of settling the affair which engrossed the attention of the Empire. Charles accordingly resolved to cite him to Worms, but without giving him a safe-conduct. It now became necessary for Frederic once more to assume the part of his protector. The danger which threatened the Reformer was obvious to every one. The friends of Luther, Cochlæus remarks, were afraid that he would be delivered up to the Pope, or that the Emperor would himself cause him to be put to death as an obstinate heretic, who had forfeited every claim to be treated with good faith.† There was a long and earnest debate on this point in the Diet.‡ Overawed, at last, by the agitation that prevailed in almost every part of Germany, and fearing lest some sudden tumult, or some dangerous insurrection § (in favour of the Reformer, doubtless), should break out in the course

* Si ad me occidendum deinceps vocare velit. . . offeram me venturum. (L. Epp. i. p. 574.)

† Tanquam perfido hæretico nulla sit servanda fides. (Cochlæus, p. 28.)

‡ Longa consultatio difficilisque disceptatio. (Ibid.)

§ Cum autem grandis ubique per Germaniam fere totam excitata esset . . . animorum commotio. (Ibid.)

of Luther's journey, the Princes decided that it was expedient to quiet men's minds in regard to his personal safety; and not only the Emperor, but also the Elector of Saxony, Duke George, and the Landgrave of Hesse, through whose territories he had to pass, gave him severally a safe-conduct.

On the 6th of March, 1521, Charles the Fifth affixed his signature to the following summons addressed to Luther:—

"Charles, by the grace of God, Emperor elect of the Romans, always August, &c. &c.

"Worshipful, well-beloved, and godly! Whereas we and the States of the holy Empire here assembled, have resolved to institute an inquiry touching the doctrine and writings which thou hast lately put forth, we have, on our own behalf and on behalf of the Empire, issued our safe-conduct, hereunto annexed, for thy journey hither and return to a place of security. Our hearty desire is that thou shouldest prepare thyself to set out immediately, so that within the space of twenty-one days fixed by our safe-conduct thou mayest without fail present thyself before us. Fear no injustice or violence. We will steadily abide by our safe-conduct aforesaid, and we expect that thou wilt pay obedience to our summons. Such is our earnest injunction.

"Given in our imperial city of Worms, this 6th day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1521, and the second of our reign,

"CHARLES.

"By order of my Lord the Emperor, under his sign manual, ALBERT, Cardinal of Mentz, Arch-Chancellor.

"*Nicolas Zwyl.*"

The safe-conduct enclosed in this writ was directed "To the worshipful our well-beloved and godly Doctor Martin Luther, of the order of the Augustines."

It began thus:

"We, Charles, the fifth of that name, by the grace of God, Emperor elect of the Romans, always August, King of Spain, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Hungary, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, &c. Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of the Tyrol," &c. &c.

And then this sovereign of so many states intimating that he has cited a certain Augustine monk, named Luther, to appear in his presence, requires all princes, lords, magistrates, and others, to respect the safe-conduct which he has granted to him, under pain of being dealt with as offenders against the Emperor and the Empire.*

Thus did the Emperor bestow the appellations of "well-beloved, worshipful, and godly," on a man whom the head of the Church had visited with excommunication. The phraseology of the instrument was designed to remove all mistrust from the mind of Luther and his friends. Gaspar Sturm was appointed to deliver this missive to the Reformer, and to escort him to Worms. The Elector, fearing some outbreak of the popular feeling, wrote on the 12th of March to the magistrates of Wittemberg, desiring them to adopt measures for the safety of the Emperor's officer, and, if necessary, to furnish him with a guard. The herald took his departure.

† Lucas Cranachs Stammbuch, &c. herausgegebenv. Chr. v. Mecheln. p. 12.

Thus was the purpose of God fulfilled. It was His will that this light, which he had kindled in the world, should be set upon a hill; and emperor, kings, and princes, were all busily employed—though they knew it not—in executing what He had appointed. It is an easy thing with Him to raise the meanest to dignity. An act of His power, operating through successive years, suffices to lead the offspring of a Saxon peasant from the lowly cottage of his childhood to that imperial hall in which assembled sovereigns awaited his coming. In His presence none are either small or great, and when He wills it, Charles and Luther meet on the same level.

But will Luther obey the summons? His best friends were in uncertainty on this point. "Dr. Martin," wrote the Elector to his brother on the 21st of March, "is cited to appear here; but I know not whether he will come. I augur nothing but mischief." Three weeks later, on the 16th of April, this excellent prince, perceiving that the danger was increasing, wrote again to Duke John as follows:—"A proclamation has been issued against Luther. The cardinals and the bishops are very hard upon him.* God grant that this may end well! Would to God that I could ensure him a favourable hearing!"

While these things were passing at Worms and Wittemberg, the Papacy was renewing its assaults. On the 28th of March, which was the Thursday before Easter, all Rome resounded with a solemn

* Die Cardinäle und Bischöfe sind ihm hart zuwider. (Seckend. p. 365.)

sentence of excommunication. It is the custom at this season to publish the terrible bull *in cœnâ Domini*, which is nothing but a long string of imprecations. On the day of which we speak, the approaches to the church in which the Sovereign Pontiff was to officiate in person, were filled at an early hour by the Papal guard, and by a vast multitude that had flocked together from all parts of Italy to receive the benediction of the Holy Father. The square before the Basilica was decorated with laurel and myrtle, wax candles were burning on the balcony of the church, and beside them was elevated the sacred receptacle of the host. On a sudden the deep sound of bells reverberates through the air;—the Pope, arrayed in his pontifical robes, and borne in an arm-chair, makes his appearance on the balcony; the people fall on their knees; all heads are uncovered; the flags that were waving in the wind are lowered; the troops ground their arms; and a solemn silence ensues. After a pause of some moments, the Pope slowly stretches out his hands, lifts them up towards heaven, and then, making the sign of the cross, lets them gradually fall towards the earth. He repeats these gestures three times. And now again the pealing bells are heard, giving notice, far and wide, of the Pontiff's benediction; and next a train of priests is seen advancing, each with a lighted torch in his hand: as they rush hurriedly along, they swing their torches downwards, they brandish them aloft, they toss them wildly to and fro, like so many fires of hell; the multitude are thrilled with awe and

terror; and the words of malediction roll heavily above their heads.*

When Luther was apprised of this excommunication, he published the form of it, with some remarks in that caustic style which he knew so well how to assume. Although this publication did not appear till some time afterwards, we shall present some extracts from it here. Let us listen to the high-priest of Christendom, as he speaks from the balcony of his Basilica,—and to the monk of Wittemberg, who answers him out of the heart of Germany.†

There is something characteristic in the contrast of the two voices.

THE POPE. "Leo, bishop."

LUTHER. "Bishop! as much as a wolf is a shepherd; for a bishop's duty is to give godly exhortations, not to vomit forth imprecations and curses."

THE POPE. "Servant of all the servants of God. . . . ."

LUTHER. "In the evening, when we are drunk; but next morning we call ourselves Leo, lord of all lords."

THE POPE. "The bishops of Rome, our predecessors, have been wont on this festival to employ the arms of justice. . . . ."

LUTHER. "Which, according to your account,

* This ceremony is described in several works, and amongst others in the "Tagebuch einer Reise durch Deutschland und Italien." (Berlin, 1817, iv. p. 94.) Its principal features are of a higher antiquity than the times of which we treat.

† See, for the Pope's bull and Luther's commentary, "Die Bulla vom Abendfressen." (L. Opp. (L.) xviii. p. 1.)

are excommunication and anathema: but according to St. Paul, long-suffering, kindness, love unfeigned."—(2 Cor. vi. 6, 7.)

THE POPE. "According to the duty of the Apostolic charge, and to maintain the purity of the Christian faith. . . . ."

LUTHER. "That is to say, the temporal possessions of the Pope."

THE POPE. "And the unity thereof, which consists in the union of the members with Christ their head, ... and with his Vicar . . . ."

LUTHER. "For Christ is not sufficient: we must have another besides."

THE POPE. "To preserve the holy communion of the faithful, we follow the ancient rule, and accordingly do excommunicate and curse, in the name of God Almighty, the Father . . . ."

LUTHER. "Of whom it is said: '*God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world.*'"—(John iii. 17.)

THE POPE. "The Son and the Holy Ghost,—and by the authority of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, ... and by our own . . . ."

LUTHER. "OUR OWN, says the ravenous wolf, as though God's might were too weak without him."

THE POPE. "We curse all heretics:—the Garasi,* the Patarini, 'the poor men' of Lyons, the Arnoldists, the Speronists, the Passageni, the Wicklefites, the Hussites, the Fraticelli . . . ."

LUTHER. "Because they have sought to possess themselves of the Holy Scriptures, and admonished

* This is a corrupt orthography: read Gazari or Cathari.

the Pope to be modest, and preach the Word of God."

THE POPE. "And Martin Luther, recently condemned by us for a like heresy, together with all his adherents, and all persons, whosoever they may be, who aid or abet him."

LUTHER. "I thank thee, most gracious Pontiff, that thou hast proclaimed me in company with all these Christians. It is an honour for me to have had my name proclaimed at Rome at the time of the festival, in so glorious a manner, and to have it circulated throughout the world with the names of all those humble confessors of Christ."

THE POPE. "In like manner, we excommunicate and curse all pirates and corsairs . . . ."

LUTHER. "And who is the greatest of all pirates and corsairs, if it be not he who takes souls captive, and binds them in chains, and delivers them to death?"

THE POPE. ". . . especially such as infest our seas. . . . ."

LUTHER. "OUR seas! St. Peter, *our* predecessor said: '*Silver and gold have I none*,' (Acts iii. 6.) Jesus Christ said, '*The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; but ye shall not be so.*' (Luke xxii. 25.) But if a waggon laden with hay must give way to a drunken man, how much more fitting is it that St. Peter and Christ himself should give way to the Pope!"

THE POPE. "In like manner we excommunicate and curse all those who falsify our bulls and letters apostolical . . . ."

LUTHER. "But God's letters,—God's Holy Scriptures,—any one may condemn and burn them."

THE POPE. "In like manner we excommunicate and curse all those who intercept any provisions on their passage to our city of Rome . . . ."

LUTHER. "He snarls and bites like a dog that is battling for his bone."*

THE POPE. "In like manner we condemn, and we curse all those who withhold any privileges, dues, tithes, or revenues belonging to the clergy."

LUTHER. "Forasmuch as Christ hath said, '*If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also*;' (Matt. v. 40.) and ye have now heard Our commentary thereon . ."

THE POPE. "Whatever be their station, dignity, order, authority, or rank, be they even bishops or kings."

LUTHER. "'*For there shall be false teachers among you, who shall despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities*,' saith the Scripture." (Jude 8.)

THE POPE. "In like manner we condemn and curse all who in any manner whatsoever shall molest the city of Rome, the kingdom of Sicily, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, the duchy of Spoleto, the marquisate of Ancona, the Campagna, the cities of Ferrara and Benevento, or any other city or territory belonging to the Church of Rome."

LUTHER. "O, Peter, thou poor fisherman! how hast thou become master of Rome and so many

* Gleichwie ein Hund ums Beines willen. (L. Opp. (L.) 18. p. 12.)

kingdoms besides? I bid thee all hail! Peter! king of Sicily! . . . and fisherman of Bethsaida."

THE POPE. "We excommunicate and curse all chancellors, counsellors, parliaments, procurators. governors, officials, bishops and others who shall resist any of our letters admonitory, permissive, prohibitory, mediatory, or executive."

LUTHER. "For the Holy See seeks only to live in idleness, pomp and debauchery,—to rule and intimidate,—to lie and deceive,—to dishonour and seduce, and commit all kinds of evil in peace and security . . . ."

"O Lord, arise! it is not so with us as the Papists pretend; thou hast not forsaken us, neither are thine eyes turned away from us."

Such was the dialogue between Leo the Tenth at Rome, and Martin Luther at Wittemberg.

The Pontiff having concluded his anathemas, the parchment on which they were written was torn up and its fragments scattered among the people. The crowd was instantly thrown into violent commotion, every one rushed forward eager to seize a scrap of the terrible bull. These were the holy relics that the Papacy offered to its followers on the eve of the great day of grace and expiation. The multitude soon dispersed, and the neighbourhood of the Basilica resumed its accustomed stillness. Let us return to Wittemberg.

It was now on the 24th of March, Gaspar Sturm, the Imperial Herald, had passed through the gates of the city in which Luther resided. He presented himself before the Doctor, and delivered into his hands the Emperor's writ of summons. It was an anxious

and solemn moment for the Reformer. His friends were all panic struck. Hitherto not one of the princes, not even Frederic the Wise, had openly espoused his cause. The knights, it is true, had begun to use threatening language; but Charles in the plenitude of his power paid small regard to it. Luther, however, preserved his composure: "The Papists," said he, observing the distress of his friends, "have little desire to see me at Worms; but they long for my condemnation and death!* No matter! Pray, *not* for me, but for the word of God. My blood will scarcely be cold before thousands and tens of thousands in every land will be made to answer for the shedding of it. The 'Most Holy' adversary of Christ, the father and master and chief of man-slayers is resolved that it shall be spilt. *Amen!* The will of God be done! Christ will give me his Spirit to overcome these ministers of Satan. I despise them while I live; I will triumph over them in death.† They are striving hard at Worms to force me to recant. My recantation shall be this: I said formerly that the Pope was Christ's vicar; now I say that he is the adversary of the Lord and the Apostle of the devil." And when he was told that all the pulpits of the Franciscans and Dominicans were ringing with imprecations and maledictions against him:‡ "Oh, how it delights me to hear it," exclaimed he. He knew that he had obeyed the will of God, and that God was with

* Damnatum et perditum. (L. Epp. i. p. 556.)

† . . . . ut hos Satanæ ministros et contemnam vivens et vincam moriens. (Ibid. p. 579.)

‡ . . . Quod miré quam gaudeam. (Ibid. p. 567.)

him:—why then should he fear to set out? Purity of intention and a conscience void of offence impart to the servant of God a hidden yet incalculable strength which never fails him,—a strength in which he goes forth against his enemies with that assurance of victory which no adamantine breastplate, no phalanx of trusty spears can ever afford.

Luther was at this time unexpectedly called on to welcome to Wittemberg a man who, like Melancthon, was destined to be his friend through life, as well as to give him present comfort in the hour of his departure.* This was a priest named Bugenhagen, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, who had fled from the rigorous persecution exercised by the Bishop of Camin, and Prince Bogislas, of Pomerania, against all, whether ecclesiastics, citizens, or scholars, who embraced the Gospel.† Born at Wollin, in Pomerania (whence he is commonly called Pomeranus), of a family holding senatorial rank, Bugenhagen, from the age of twenty, had been teaching at Treptow. The young listened eagerly to his instructions; the noble and the learned vied with each other in courting his society. He was a diligent student in sacred literature, and one who prayed to God to enlighten and direct him.‡ One evening (it was towards the end of December, 1520), as he sat at supper with some friends, a copy

* Venit Wittembergam paulò ante iter Lutheri ad comitia Wormatiæ indicta. (Melch. Adam. vita Bugenhagii, p. 314.)

† Sacerdotes cives et scholasticos in vincula conjecit. (Ibid. p. 313.)

‡ Precesque adjunxit quibus divinitus se re hac doceri petivit. (Ibid. p. 312.)

of Luther's book on *the Babylonian Captivity* was put into his hands. "Since Christ's death," said he, after having glanced it over, "there have been many heretics to vex the Church: but never yet has there risen up such a pest as the author of this book." Having taken the book home with him, however, and read it once and again, his thoughts underwent a total change; truths of which he had never dreamed became palpable to his mind; and returning a few days afterwards to his companions, he said: "The whole world has been lying in thick darkness. This man—and none but he—has discerned the truth."* Several priests, a deacon, and even the abbot himself, received the pure doctrine of salvation, and in a short time, by their powerful preaching, they turned their hearers, says an historian, from human superstitions, to put their sole trust in the availing righteousness of Jesus Christ.† Then burst forth the persecution. Many were already groaning in dungeons. Bugenhagen escaped from his enemies, and arrived, as we have seen, at Wittemberg. "He is suffering for the Gospel's sake," observed Melancthon, writing, on this occasion, to the Elector's chaplain, "where could he seek refuge, but in this asylum of ours, under the protection of our Prince?‡

But by none was Bugenhagen received so joyfully as by Luther. It was agreed between them that immediately after the Reformer's departure, Bugen-

* In Cimmeriis tenebris versatur: hic vir unus et solus verum videt. (Melch. Adam. vita Bugenhagii, p. 313.)

† A superstitionibus ad unicum Christi meritum traducere. (Ibid.)

‡ Corp. Ref. i. p. 361.

hagen should begin to expound the Psalms. Thus did Providence raise up that gifted man to supply, in part at least, the loss of him whom Wittemberg was about to lose. A year later, Bugenhagen was placed at the head of the Church of that city, and he continued to preside over it for six and thirty years. Luther bestowed upon him the emphatic appellation of *the Pastor*.

Luther was now ready to set out. His dejected friends believed that, unless God should interpose by a miracle, he was going to meet his death. Melancthon far removed from his native soil, had attached himself to Luther with the strong affection of an ardent mind. "Luther," said he, "makes up to me for the loss of all my friends. He is, in my estimation, greater and more wonderful than I know how to express. You remember how Socrates was revered by Alcibiades;*—but my admiration of Luther is of a higher kind, for it is a Christian feeling." And he adds the beautiful though simple phrase: "As often as I contemplate him, he seems to me every time to have grown greater than himself."† Melancthon wished to bear Luther company in his perils. But their common friends,—and, doubtless, the Reformer himself,—opposed his desire. Was not Philip to fill his friend's place?—and if the latter should never return, who would then carry on the work of reformation? "Would

* Alcibiades was persuaded that the society of Socrates was granted him by the speciel favour of the Gods, for his guidance and protection. (Plutarch, in his life of Alcibiades.)

† Quem quoties contemplor, se ipso subinde majorem judico. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 264.)

to God," said Melancthon, as he reluctantly submitted, "I were allowed to set out with him."*

The vehement Amsdorff at once declared his intention to accompany the Doctor. His bold heart delighted in danger—and his lofty spirit did not shrink from appearing before an assembly of kings. The Elector had invited to Wittemberg a professor of law, the celebrated John Schurff, son of a physician at St. Gall, a man of a remarkably mild disposition who lived in intimacy with Luther. "He could never find the heart to pass sentence of death upon any criminal,"† said Luther, speaking of Schurff. Yet this timid man desired to be present with the Doctor as his adviser, in the course of his hazardous journey. Peter Suàven, a young Danish student, who lodged in Melancthon's house, and was afterwards famous for his preaching of the Gospel in Pomerania and Denmark, also announced that he would accompany his 'father.' It was fit that the youth of the schools should have some one to represent it, at the side of the champion of truth.

All Germany was moved at the thought of the dangers which threatened one who was the people's representative. She found a voice that was worthy of her to express her alarms. Ulric Hütten, trembling at the thought of the blow the country was on the eve of sustaining, wrote on the 1st of April to Charles V. himself: "Most excellent Emperor, you are about to involve yourself and us in one common ruin. What is the object of this precedure

* Utinam licuisset mihi una proficisci. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 365.)

† L. Opp. (W.) xxii. 2067. 1819.

against Luther, unless it be the destruction of our liberty and the downfall of your power. Throughout the empire there is no man but takes a lively interest in this matter.* The priests alone are opposed to Luther, because he has stood forth against their overgrown power, shameful luxury, and depraved conduct, and pleaded for the Christian doctrine, the national liberties, and purity of morals.

"O Emperor, no longer countenance those Roman advocates, those bishops and cardinals who would hinder all reformation. Have you not noticed the sadness of the people when they beheld your arrival, approaching the Rhine surrounded with those red hats,—a troop of priests, instead of a cohort of valiant warriors?

"Give not up your sovereign majesty to those who would trample it under their feet. Take pity on us and do not involve the whole nation in your own ruin. Lead us into the midst of dangers—against sword and cannon†—let all nations conspire, and their armies come against us, so that we may prove our courage in the face of day, and not be conquered and enslaved, darkly and secretly, as if we were women unarmed and unresisting . . . . Alas, we hoped that you would deliver us from the Roman yoke, and dethrone the Pontiff's tyranny. God grant that the future may be happier than these beginnings.

* Neque enim quam lata est Germania, ulli boni sunt . . . . (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 182.)

† Duc nos in manifestum potius periculum, duc in ferrum, duc in ignes. (Ibid. p. 183.)

"All Germany is at your feet,* imploring your help, your compassion, your fidelity; appealing to those German heroes, who stood erect before the proud city, when the whole world besides were its subjects, and conjuring you to save her,—to restore her to what she once was—to deliver her from slavery, and avenge her on her tyrants."

Thus spake the German nation to Charles the Fifth, by the mouth of Ulric Hütten. The Emperor paid no attention to this appeal, and it is probable, threw the letter contemptuously to one of his secretaries. He was a Fleming, not a German. His personal power, and not the liberty or glory of the Empire was the object of his desire.

It was the 2nd of April. Luther was to take leave of his friends. After having apprized Lange by letter, that he would spend the Thursday or Friday following at Erfurth,† he bade adieu to his colleagues. Turning to Melancthon he said, with deep emotion:—"If I never return, and my enemies should take my life, cease not, dear brother, to teach and stand fast in the truth. Labour in my stead, since I can no longer work. If thy life be spared, my death will matter little." Then commiting his soul to Him who is faithful, Luther stepped into the waggon and quitted Wittemberg. The town-council had furnished him with a plain carriage, covered with an awning, which the travellers might throw back or draw over them at pleasure. The Imperial herald in full costume, and wearing

* Omnem nunc Germaniam quasi ad genua provolutam tibi. . . . (Ibid. p. 184.)

† L. Epp. i. p. 580.

the imperial eagle, went before on horseback, and was followed by his servant. Then came Luther, Schurff, Amsdorff, and Suaven in their open waggon. The burghers of Wittemberg, to whom the Gospel was precious, sorrowing and in tears, invoked the blessing of God upon his journey. Luther set forth.

He soon had occasion to observe that gloomy presentiments filled the hearts of those he met. At Leipsic no honours were paid him, beyond the customary offering of wine. At Naumburg he met a priest, probably J. Langer, a man of stern zeal, who kept hung up in his study a portrait of the celebrated Jerome Savonarola, of Ferrara, who perished in the flames at Florence in the year 1498, by order of Pope Alexander the Sixth,—a martyr to liberty and morals, rather than a confessor of the Gospel. Taking down the portrait of the Italian martyr, the priest held it forth in silence as he approached Luther. The latter well understood the import of this silent action, but his intrepid spirit was unmoved. "It is Satan," he remarked, "who seeks by these terrors to hinder the confession of the truth in the assembly of the princes, for he foresees the effect it will have on his kingdom."* "Stand fast in the truth thou hast professed," replied the priest gravely, "and thy God will never forsake thee."†

* Terrorem hunc a Sathana sibi dixit adferri . . . . (Melch. Adam. p. 117.)

† Er wolle bey der erkandten Wahrheyt mit breytem Fuss aushalten . . . (Mathesius, p. 23—first edition, 1566.)

Having passed one night at Naumburg, where the burgomaster had received him hospitably, Luther arrived on the following evening at Weimar. He had scarcely alighted, when he heard the voices of the criers on all sides. They were proclaiming his sentence. "Look there," said the herald. He turned his eyes, and beheld with astonishment the Emperor's messengers passing from street to street, everywhere placarding the imperial edict, enjoining all men to bring in his writings to the magistrates. Luther saw clearly that these vigorous proceedings were designed to stay his further progress,—by working upon his apprehensions,—and after that, to condemn him as having refused to appear. "Well, Doctor, will you go any farther?" asked the herald, in alarm. "Yes," replied Luther, "though I should be put under interdict in every town, I will go on. I rely on the Emperor's safe-conduct."

At Weimar, Luther had an audience of Duke John, brother to the Elector of Saxony, who was then residing in that city. The prince requested him to preach, and he consented. Words of life-giving power flowed forth from his swelling heart. A Franciscan monk, John Voit, a friend of Frederic Myconius, was on that occasion converted to the Gospel. Two years afterwards he left the convent, and became subsequently professor of theology at Wittemberg. The Duke assisted Luther with money for his journey.

From Weimar the Reformer repaired to Erfurth. It was the town in which his youth had been passed. He expected to find there his friend

Lange; if, as he had written word, there was no risk incurred by entering the town.* As he came within three or four leagues of the place, nigh the village of Nora, he saw at a distance a troop of horsemen. Were they friends or foes? Rapidly Crotus, rector of the University, Eobanus Hesse, the friend of Melancthon (styled by Luther the prince of poets), Euricius Cordus, John Draco, and others, to the number of forty, senators, students, and burghers, welcomed him with joyful acclamations. A crowd of the population of Erfurth met him in the road and cheered him as he drew nigh, eager to behold the mighty monk who had dared to give battle to the Pope.

A young man of twenty-eight years of age, named Justus Jonas preceded the party.† Jonas, after studying the law at Erfurth, had been elected rector of the university in 1519. Receiving the light of the Gospel, which was then beaming forth in all directions, he had conceived the wish to devote himself to sacred learning. "I think," said Erasmus in writing to him, "that God has chosen you as his instrument to make known to others the glory of his Son Jesus."‡ The thoughts of Jonas were all turned toward Luther at Wittemberg. Some years before, when he was yet a student of law, his enterprising spirit had led him in company with a few friends, to make a journey on foot

* Nisi periculum sit Erfordiam ingredi. (L. Epp. i. p. 580.)

† Hos inter, qui nos prævenerant, ibat Jonas,
Ille decus nostri, primaque fama Chori.
Eob. Hessi Elegia secunda.

‡ Velut organum quoddam electum ad illustrandam filii sui Jesu gloriam. (Erasmi Epp. v. 27.)

through forests infested by thieves, and across a country ravaged by the plague, in order to visit Erasmus, who was then at Brussels. And shall he not brave dangers of another kind to accompany the Reformer to Worms? He entreated Luther to allow him to join him, and Luther consented. This was the first meeting of the two doctors, who were destined to pass their whole lives labouring together for the revival of the Church. Divine Providence was assembling round Luther men who were destined to be the lights of Germany: Melancthon, Amsdorff, Bugenhagen, Jonas. After his return from Worms, Jonas was elected provost of the church of Wittemberg, and doctor of divinity. "Jonas," said Luther, "is a man whose continued life on this earth is worth any purchase."* No preacher had more power of captivating his hearers. "Pomeranus is exegetical," said Melancthon; "I am a logician,—Jonas is the preacher. Words flow beautifully from his lips, and his eloquence is full of energy. But Luther excels in all."† It appears that about this time a friend of Luther's childhood, and also one of his brothers, joined him in his route.

The deputation from Erfurth had turned their horses' heads. They entered its walls, on horseback and on foot, surrounding Luther's waggon. At the city gate—in the public squares—and in those

* Vir est quem oportuit multo pretio emptum et servatum in terra. (Weismann. i. p. 1436.)

† Pomeranus est grammaticus, ego sum dialecticus, Jonas est orator . . . . Lutherus vero nobis omnibus antecellit. (Knapp Narrat. de J. Jona, p. 581.)

streets where the poor monk had so often begged a morsel of bread, a crowd of spectators was assembled; Luther alighted at the convent of the Augustines. Lange welcomed him with joy. Usingen and some of the more aged friars manifested considerable coolness. He was requested to preach:—preaching had been forbidden him; but the herald himself, carried away by the feelings of those about him, gave his consent.

On the Sunday after Easter the church of the Augustines, of Erfurth, was crowded to excess. The brother whose duty it once was to unclose the gates, and sweep out the aisles, ascended the pulpit, and opening the Bible read these words:—"PEACE *be unto you: and when Jesus had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side*," John xx. 19, 20. "Philosophers, learned doctors, and writers," said he, "have all laboured to show how man can attain to eternal life, and they have all failed. I am now to tell you the way."

In every age this has been the great question; accordingly his hearers were all attention.

"There are two kinds of works," continued the Reformer: "works not of ourselves, and these are good works: and our own works, and they are but little worth. One builds a church,—another goes a pilgrimage to St. James's or St. Peter's,—a third fasts, prays, assumes the cowl, and goes barefoot,—another does something else. All these are of no value, and will pass away; for our own works are powerless. But I am about to declare to you what is work indeed. God has raised up a Man, the Lord Jesus Christ, that *He* might destroy death,—

finish transgression, and close the gate of hell. This is the work of Salvation. The devil thought he had the Lord in his grasp, when he saw him between two thieves suffering a shameful death, under the curse of God and men. But the Godhead displayed its power, destroying *Death*, *Sin*, and *Hell* . . . ."

"Christ has overcome!—this is the great news! —and we are saved by *his* work, not by our own. The Pope teaches a different doctrine. But I affirm that even the holy mother of God is saved neither by her virginity, nor by her maternity, nor yet by her purity, or her works,—but solely by means of faith, and by the operation of God. . . ."

While Luther was preaching, a noise was suddenly heard in one of the galleries, and it was thought it was giving way from the weight of the crowd. This caused much confusion in the auditory. Some rushed from their places,—others were motionless from fear. The preacher stopped for a moment,—then stretching forth his hand he exclaimed aloud, "Fear not—there is no danger—the devil is seeking to throw hindrances in the way of my preaching the gospel—but he shall not gain his point."* At his bidding, those that were leaving the place stopped, astonished and constrained; the assembly resumed its calmness, and Luther proceeded, not regarding the temptations of the devil. "Some perhaps will say, You talk to us much about Faith, teach us then how to obtain it. Well, agreed! I will show you how. Our Lord Jesus Christ said, '*Peace be unto you. Behold my*

* Agnosco insidias, hostis acerbe, tuas. (Hessi Eleg tertia.)

hands!' That is to say, Look, O man, it is I, I alone, who have taken away thy sin and redeemed thee, and now thou hast peace, saith the Lord . . ."

"I," continued Luther, "ate not the fruit of the tree—no more did you; but we have received the sin transmitted to us by Adam, and we have sinned. In like manner I suffered not on the cross —no more did you; but Christ suffered for us; we are justified by the work of God, and not by our own; I myself, saith the Lord, am thy righteousness and thy redeemer."

"Believe the Gospel—believe St. Paul—and not the letters and decretals of the Popes."

Luther, after preaching Faith as justifying the sinner, proceeds to preach Works as the fruits and evidence of our being saved.

"Since God has saved us,—let us so order our works that he may take pleasure in them. Art thou rich?—let thy riches be the supply of other men's poverty. Art thou poor?—let thy service minister to the rich. If thy labour is for thyself alone,—the service thou offerest to God is a mere pretence."*

Not a word concerning himself did Luther find place for in this sermon, nor yet for any allusions to the circumstances in which he stood;—not a word concerning Worms, the Emperor, or the Nuncios: he preached CHRIST, and Him alone. In a moment when the eyes of all the world were turned on him, he had no thought uppermost for himself;—it is a mark of the faithful servant of God.

* L. Opp. (L.) xii. p. 485.

Luther took his departure from Erfurth and passed through Gotha, where he again preached. Myconius adds, that after the sermon, when the congregation were leaving, the devil detached from the pediment of the church some stones that had not moved for two hundred years. The Doctor took a night's rest in the convent of the Benedictines at Reinhardsbrunn, and proceeded from thence to Eisenach, where he was suddenly taken ill. Amsdorff, Jonas, Schurff, and all his friends, were alarmed. They bled him and were unremitting in attentions. The Schulthess of the town, John Oswald, brought him a cordial. Luther having taken it, had some sleep, and refreshed by rest, was enabled to resume his journey on the following morning.

Every where, as he passed, the people of the country flocked round him.* His progress resembled a triumph. Men contemplated with interest the bold man who was going to present himself bareheaded before the Emperor and the Empire.† A dense crowd accompanied his steps, discoursing with him. "Ah," said some, "there are plenty of cardinals and bishops at Worms! . . . .You will be burnt alive, and your body reduced to ashes, as they did with John Huss." But nothing daunted the monk. "Though they should kindle a fire, whose flame should reach from Worms to Wittemberg, and rise up to heaven, I would go through it

* Iter facienti occurrebant populi. (Pallavicini Hist. C. Tr. i. p. 114.)

† Quacunque iter faciebant, frequens erat concursus hominum, videndi Lutheri studio. (Cochlæus, p. 29.)

in the name of the Lord, and stand before them,—I would enter the jaws of the behemoth, break his teeth, and confess the Lord Jesus Christ."*

One day when he had entered into an inn, and the crowd was as usual pressing about him, an officer made his way through, and thus addressed him:—"Are you the man who has taken in hand to reform the Papacy? . . . How can you expect to succeed?" "Yes," answered Luther, "I am the man. I place my dependance upon that Almighty God whose word and commandment is before me." The officer, deeply affected, gazed on him with a mild expression, and said, "Dear friend, there is much in what you say; I am a servant of Charles, but your Master is greater than mine. He will help and protect you."† Such was the impression that Luther produced. Even his enemies were awed by the sight of the crowd that surrounded him: but they have depicted his progress in very different colours.‡ At length the Doctor reached Frankfort on Sunday the 14th of April.

Accounts of Luther's progress had before this reached Worms. The Pope's partisans had not expected that he would obey the Emperor's summons. Albert, cardinal-archbishop of Mentz, would have given the world to stop him on his journey; new expedients were resorted to for this purpose.

* Ein Feuer das bis an den Himmel reichte . . . (Keil, i. p. 90.)

† Nun habt Ihr einen grössern Herrn, denn Ich. (Ibid. p. 99.)

‡ In diversoriis multa propinatio, læta compotatio, musices quoque gaudia: adeo ut Lutherus ipse alicubi sonora testudine ludens, omnium in se oculos converteret, velut Orpheus quidem, sed rasus adhuc et cuculatus eoque mirabilior. (Cochlæus, p. 29.)

Luther rested a short time at Frankfort; from thence he wrote to Spalatin, who was then with the Elector at Worms, announcing his approach. It is the only letter he wrote during the journey. "I am arrived here," said he, "although Satan has sought to stop me in my way by sickness. From Eisenach to this place I have been suffering, and I am at this moment in worse condition than ever. I find that Charles has issued an edict to terrify me; but Christ lives, and we shall enter Worms in spite of all the councils of hell, and all the powers of the air.* Therefore engage a lodging for me."

Next day Luther visited the learned school of William Nesse, the celebrated geographer of that age. "Apply yourselves," said he, "to the reading of the Bible, and the investigation of truth." Then laying his right hand on one, and his left on another, he pronounced his blessing on all the scholars.

If Luther was thus engaged in blessing children, he was not the less the hope of aged Christians. A widow of great age, who served God with her heart, Catherine of Holzhausen, came to him with these words: "My father and mother predicted to me that God would one day raise up a man who should oppose the vanities of the Pope, and rescue the word of God. I hope you are that man; and I wish you the grace and Holy Spirit of God for your help."†

* Intrabimus Wormatiam, invitis omnibus portis inferni et potentatibus aeris. (L. Epp. i. p. 987.)

† Ich hoffe dass du der Verheissene . . . (Cypt. Hilar. Ev. p. 608.)

These feelings were very far from being general at Frankfort. John Cochlæus, dean of the Church of our Lady, was a devoted adherent of the Roman Church. He could not repress his fears at sight of Luther in his passage through Frankfort on his way to Worms. He felt that the Church had need of zealous defenders. It mattered little that he had not been called upon. Scarcely had Luther left the city when Cochlæus set out after him, ready, as he said, to lay down his life in defence of the honour of his Church.*

The panic was great among the partisans of the Pope. The heresiarch was approaching;—every day, every hour, brought him nearer. Once at Worms, and all might be ruined. The Archbishop Albert, the Confessor Glapio, and all the political advisers of the Emperor, were in dismay. How to stop the monk was the question. To seize and carry him off was not to be thought of, for he was furnished with Charles's safe-conduct; artifice alone could compass the end. Instantly they devise the following plan. The Emperor's confessor and his grand-chamberlain, Paul of Armsdorff, set out in haste from Worms.† They direct their course toward the chateau of Ebernburg, distant about ten leagues, and the residence of Francis Sickengen, the knight who had offered Luther an asylum. Bucer, a young Dominican, and chaplain to the Elector Palatine, converted to the Gospel at the period of

* Lutherum illac transeuntem subsequutus, ut pro honore ecclesiæ vitam suam . . . . exponeret. (Cochlæus, p. 36.)

† Dass der Keyser seinen Beichtvater und Ihrer Majest. Ober-Kammerling, zu Sickengen schickt. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 587.)

the conference at Heidelberg, had sought refuge and was then residing in this 'abode of the righteous.' The knight, who was not well versed in matters of religion, was easily imposed upon; and the character of the former chaplain to the Palatine favoured the views of the confessor. In fact Bucer was disposed for peace. Distinguishing fundamental from secondary truths, he thought he might sacrifice the latter for the sake of peace and unity.*

The chamberlain and Charles' confessor opened the business. They gave Sickengen and Bucer to understand that if Luther were once in Worms, it would be all over with him. They declared that the Emperor was ready to send certain learned men to Ebernburg, there to talk over matters with the Doctor. "Both parties," said they to the knight, "will put themselves under *your* protection." And to Bucer they said, "We agree with Luther on all essential things,—the only questions between us relate to some secondary points. *You* will act as mediator between us." The knight and the doctor were shaken. The confessor and the chamberlain continued—"The invitation must come from you," said they to Sickengen, "and Bucer must be the bearer of it."† The whole project was agreed to, according to their wish. Only let Luther credulously obey their invitation to Ebernburg, and the term of his safe-conduct will soon expire:—then who can protect him?

* Condoce faciebat τα αναγκαια a probabilibus distinguere, ut scirent quæ retinenda . . . . (M. Adam. Vit. Buceri, p. 223.)

† Dass er sollte den Luther zu sich fodern. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 587.)

Luther had reached Oppenheim. In three days his safe-conduct would be void. A troop of horsemen were seen approaching, and soon he recognized the same Bucer with whom he had held such intimate conversations at Heidelberg.* "These horsemen belong to Francis Sickengen," said Bucer, after the first greetings. "He has sent me to conduct you to his fortress.† The Emperor's confessor desires a conference with you. His influence with Charles is unbounded;—everything may yet be arranged; but have nothing to do with Aleander!" Jonas, Amsdorff, Schurff, knew not what to think. Bucer urged him:—but Luther never faltered. "I shall go on," answered he, "and if the Emperor's confessor has anything to say to me, he will find me at Worms. I repair to the place of summons."

In the meanwhile Spalatin himself began to be disturbed with apprehensions. Situate in the midst of enemies of the Reformation, he heard it said on all sides that the heretic's safe-conduct would be disregarded. His friendship took the alarm. At the moment when Luther was approaching the city, a servant met him and delivered him a message from the chaplain: "Abstain from entering Worms." And this from Spalatin himself, the Elector's confidential adviser! Luther, still unshaken, turned his eyes on the messenger, and answered, "*Go tell your master, that though there should be as many devils at Worms, as there are tiles on its roofs, I would*

* Da kam Bucer zu, mit etlichen Reutern. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 587.)

† Und wollte mir überreden zu Sickengen gen Ebernburg zu kommen. (Ibid.)

enter it."* At no time had the grandeur of Luther's spirit been more evidenced. The messenger re-entered Worms, and delivered the astounding declaration. "I was then intrepid," said Luther, (a few days before his death), "I feared nothing. God can give this boldness to man. I know not whether now I should have so much liberty and joy." "When our cause is good," adds his disciple Mathesius, "the heart expands and gives courage and energy to the evangelist and the soldier."†

At last, on the morning of the 16th April, Luther discovered the walls of the ancient city. All were expecting him. But one subject occupied the thoughts of the citizens. Some young nobles, Bernard of Kirschfeld, Albert Lindenau, with six mounted cavaliers, and other gentlemen of the prince's retinue, to the number in all of a hundred (according to Pallavicini), in their impatience, rode out of the city to meet him, and surrounding his travelling car, escorted him to the gates. He went forward. The Imperial herald galloped before, attired in the vestments of his office. Luther came next, in his modest vehicle. Jonas followed on horseback, and the party of horsemen surrounded him. A vast crowd were awaiting his arrival at the gates. At ten o'clock he entered within those walls, whence so many had predicted to him that he would never again depart. Behold him in Worms!

Two thousand persons accompanied the famed

* Wenn so viel Teufel zu Worms wären, als Ziegel auf den Dächern noch wollt Ich hinein! (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 587.)

† So wachst das Herz im Leibe . . . (Math. p. 24.)

monk of Wittemberg through the streets of the city. People ran to their doors to see him. The crowd was increasing every moment,—and was even greater than at the public entry of the Emperor himself. Of a sudden, says an historian, a man clothed in grotesque habiliments, and bearing before him a lofty cross, as is customary at funerals, penetrated through the crowd, and advanced towards Luther:—then with the shrill and plaintive cadence, in which the priests perform masses for the repose of the dead, he chaunted these words, as if he were uttering them from the abode of departed spirits—

Advenisti, O desiderabilis!
Quem expectabamus in tenebris!*

Thus was Luther's arrival celebrated by a *requiem*. It was the court fool of one of the Dukes of Bavaria, who (if the account may be depended upon) thus gave to Luther one of those warnings, reple t at once with solemn instruction and irony, of which so many instances are on record. But the shouts of the crowd soon drowned the *de profundis* of the cross-bearer. The procession made its way with difficulty through the people. At last the herald of the Empire stopped before the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes. It was there that Frederic of Thun, and Philip Feilitsch, two counsellors of the Elector, and Ulric Pappenheim, the Marshal of the Empire, had taken up their abode. Luther alighted from his waggon, and as he set foot on the ground,

* Thou art come whom we desired—whom we waited for in the regions of darkness!

exclaimed, "God will be my defence."* "I entered Worms," said he, at a later period, "in an open cart and in a monk's frock. And every one came out into the streets, desiring to see friar Martin."†

The intelligence of his arrival was received with alarm by the Elector of Saxony and Aleander. Albert, the young and accomplished Archbishop, whose mind was in a middle position, was dismayed at this daring step. "If I had no more courage than the Archbishop," said Luther, "true it is they would never have seen me at Worms."

Charles V. instantly convoked his council. The confidential adviser of the Emperor repaired in haste to the palace—for the fear had communicated to them. "Luther is come," said Charles, "what must be done?"

Modo, Bishop of Palermo and Chancellor of Flanders, answered, according to the testimony of Luther:—"We have long thought of this matter. Let your Majesty rid yourself at once of this man. Did not Sigismund bring John Huss to the stake? One is under no obligation either to give or to observe a safe-conduct in the case of heretics."‡ "Not so," said Charles, "what we promise we should observe and keep." It was, therefore, agreed that the Reformer should be heard.

Whilst the great were thus planning how to deal with Luther, there were not a few in Worms rejoicing in the opportunity of at last beholding this

* Deus stabit pro me. (Pallavicini, i. p. 114.)

† L. Opp. xvii. p. 587.

‡ . . . . Dass Ihre Majestät den Luther aufs erste beyseit thäte und umbringen liess . . . . (Ibid.)

distinguished servant of God. Capito, chaplain and counsellor of the Archbishop of Mentz, was of their number. This remarkable man, who a little while before had preached the Gospel in Switzerland with much liberty*—thought he then owed it to the station he filled, to pursue a course which exposed him to the charge of cowardice from the Evangelical preachers, and of dissimulation from the Romanists.† Yet at Mentz he had preached the doctrine of faith with great clearness. When he was leaving that city he had arranged for his place being supplied by a young and zealous preacher named Hedion. The word of God was not bound in that ancient seat of the German primacy. The Gospel was eagerly listened to; in vain did the monks attempt to preach from the Scriptures after their manner;—in vain did they make every effort to arrest the impulsion given to men's minds. Their failure was complete.‡ But whilst preaching the new doctrine, Capito sought to maintain friendly relations with its persecutors;—with a few of the same opinions he flattered himself that he might in this way render great service to the Church. To hear them talk one might have thought that if Luther was not burnt and his followers excommunicated, it was only owing to the influence that Capito possessed with the Archbishop.§ Cochlæus, dean of Frank-

* Book VIII.

† Astutia plusquam vulpina vehementer callidum . . . . Lutherum versutissime dissimulabat. (Cochlæus, p. 36.)

‡ Evangelium audiunt avidissime, verbum Dei alligatum non est . . . . (Caspar Hedio Zw. Epp. p. 157.)

§ Lutherus in hoc districtu dudum esset combustus, Lutherani ἀποσυνάγωγοι, nisi Capito aliter persuasisset principi. (C. Hedio Zw. Epp. 148.)

fort, arriving at Worms at the same time as Luther, repaired direct to Capito's residence. The latter, who at least was outwardly on very friendly terms with Aleander, introduced Cochlæus to him, becoming thus a connecting link between the Reformer's two great enemies.* Doubtless Capito imagined that he did service to the cause of Christ, by keeping up these appearances; but it would be impossible to show any good effect flowing from them. The event almost always disconcerts such calculations of human policy, proving that a decided course, while it is the most frank, is also most wise.

Meanwhile crowds continued to gather outside the hotel of Rhodes where Luther had alighted. Some had conceived an idea of him as a prodigy of wisdom; others as a monster of iniquity. Every one desired to see him.† They left him, however, a few hours to recruit himself after his journey, and discourse with his most intimate friends. But as soon as the evening closed in, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, and citizens, flocked about him. All, even those most opposed to him, were struck with his courageous bearing—the joy that beamed in his countenance—the power of his eloquence, and the solemn elevation and enthusiasm which gave to the words of a single monk a sort of irresistible authority. But some ascribed this grandeur to a something divine; whilst the partisans of the Pope

* Hic (Capito) illum (Cochlæum) insinuavit Hieronymo Aleandro, nuncio Leonis X. (Cochlæus, p. 36.)

† Eadem die tota civitas solicite confluxit .... (Pallavicini, i. p. 114.)

loudly exclaimed that he was possessed by a devil.* Visitors poured in, and the succession of the curious kept Luther from his bed till a late hour.

On the next morning, 17th of April, the hereditary Marshal of the Empire, Ulric Pappenheim, cited him to appear at four o'clock in the afternoon in presence of his Imperial Majesty and of the States of the Empire. Luther received the message with profound respect.

Thus all things were ready. He was about to appear for Jesus Christ before the most august of all assemblies. Encouragements were not wanting. The bold knight, Ulric Hütten, was then in the castle of Ebernburg. Prevented coming to Worms, (for Leo the Tenth had desired Charles to send him bound hand and foot to Rome,) he resolved at least to stretch out the hand of friendship to Luther, and on the same day, 17th of April, he wrote to him, adopting the words of the king of Israel:—"*The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble: the name of the God of Jacob defend thee: send thee help out of Zion: grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel.*† O beloved Luther, my venerated father! .... fear not and stand firm. The counsels of the wicked have laid wait for you, they have opened their mouths against you—like roaring lions. But the Lord will arise against them and put them to flight. Fight, therefore, valiantly the battle of Christ. For my part I too will fight boldly. Would to God I might be allowed to face

* Nescio quid divinum suspicabantur; ex adverso alii malo dæmone obsessum existimabant. (Pallavicini, i. p. 114.)

† Ps. xx.

their frowns. But the Lord will deliver his Vine, that the wild boar of the forest has laid waste . . . . Christ preserve you!"* . . . . Bucer did what Hütten was prevented doing, he made the journey from Ebernburg to Worms, and never left his friend during his stay there.†

But Luther looked not to men for his strength. "He who, attacked by the enemy, holds up the buckler of *Faith*," said he one day, "is like Perseus presenting the head of the Gorgon. Whoever looks upon it is struck dead. It is thus that we should hold up the Son of God against the snares of the devil."‡ On the morning of this 17th April, he was for a few minutes in deep exercise of mind. God's face seemed to be veiled, and—his faith forsook him :—his enemies seemed to multiply before him, and his imagination was overcome by the aspect of his dangers. His soul was like a ship driven by a violent tempest, rocked from side to side,—one moment plunged in the abyss, and the next carried up to heaven. In that hour of bitter trial—when he drank of the cup of Christ—an hour which to him was as the garden of Gethsemane, he threw himself with his face upon the earth, and uttered those broken cries, which we cannot understand, without entering, in thought, into the anguish of those deeps from whence they rose to God.§ "Oh God, Almighty God everlasting! how dreadful

* Servet te Christus. (L. Opp. ii. p. 175.)

† Bucerus eodem venit. (M. Adam. Vit. Buceri, p. 212.)

‡ Also sollen wir den Sohn Gottes als Gorgonis Haupt . . . (L. Opp. (W.) xxii. 1659.)

§ L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 598.

is the world! behold how its mouth opens to swallow me up, and how small is my faith in Thee! . . . Oh! the weakness of the flesh and the power of Satan! If I am to depend upon any strength of this world—all is over. . . . The knell is struck. . . .* Sentence is gone forth. . . . . O God! O God! O thou my God! help me against all the wisdom of this world. Do this, I beseech thee; thou shouldst do this; . . . . by thine own mighty power. . . . . The work is not mine, but Thine. I have no business here. . . . I have nothing to contend for with these great men of the world! I would gladly pass my days in happiness and peace. But the cause is Thine, ... and it is righteous and everlasting! O Lord! help me! O faithful and unchangeable God! I lean not upon man. It were vain! Whatever is of man is tottering, whatever proceeds from him must fail. My God! my God! dost thou not hear? My God! art thou no longer living? Nay, thou canst not die! Thou dost but hide Thyself. Thou hast chosen me for this work. I know it! . . . Therefore, O God, accomplish thine own will! Forsake me not, for the sake of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, my defence, my buckler, and my strong hold."

After a moment of silent struggle, he continued, "Lord, where art thou? . . . My God, where art thou? . . . Come! I pray thee, I am ready. . . . Behold me prepared to lay down my life for thy truth . . . suffering like a lamb. For the cause is holy. It is thine own! . . . I will not let thee go! no, nor yet for all eternity! And though the

* Die Glocke ist schon gegossen. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 589.)

world should be thronged with devils—and this body which is the work of thine hands, should be cast forth, trodden under foot, cut in pieces, ... consumed to ashes, . . . *my soul is thine.* Yes, I have thine own word to assure me of it. My soul belongs to thee, and will abide with thee for ever! Amen! O God send help! . . . Amen!"*

This prayer discloses to us Luther and the Reformation. History here lifts the veil of the sanctuary, and discovers the secret source whence strength and courage descended to the humble and despised man, who was God's instrument, to set at liberty the soul and thought of man and open a new age. Luther and the Reformation lie open before us. We discern their inmost springs. We see where their power lay. This effusion of a soul offering itself up in the cause of truth is found in the collection of documents relative to the citation of Luther to Worms, under number 16, of the safe-conducts and other papers of that nature. One of his friends doubtless overheard and preserved it. In our judgment it is one of the noblest of historical documents.

Four o'clock arrived. The Marshal of the Empire appeared. Luther prepared to set out. God had heard his prayers; he was calm when he quitted the hotel. The herald walked first. Next came the Marshal of the Empire, followed by the Reformer. The crowd that thronged the streets was yet more dense than on the preceding evening. It was not possible to advance—it was in vain that orders were given to make way;—the crowd was increasing. At

* Die Seele ist dein. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 589.)

last the herald, seeing the impossibility of reaching the Town Hall, demanded admission into some private houses, and conducted Luther through the gardens and back ways to the place where the Diet was assembled.* The people who witnessed this, rushed into the houses after the monk of Wittemberg, stationing themselves at the windows overlooking the gardens, and many of them taking their stand on the tops of the houses. The roofs and the pavements, above and beneath, all around him, were covered with spectators.†

Arriving at last at the Town Hall, Luther and his companions were again at a loss how to pass the gateway, which was thronged by the multitude. Make room! was the cry; but no one stirred. The Imperial soldiers then cleared a passage. The people hurrying forward to enter together with the Reformer, the soldiers drove them back with their halberds. Luther entered the interior of the hall, and there again he beheld its inclosure crowded. In the ante-chambers and window recesses, there were more than five thousand spectators—German, Italian, Spanish, and of other nations. Luther advanced with difficulty. As he drew near the door which was to admit him to the presence of his judges, he was met by a valiant knight, George Freundsberg, who, four years afterwards, attended by his followers, couched his lance at the battle of Pavia, and bearing down the left of the French

* Und ward also durch heimliche Gange geführt. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 574.)

† Doch lief das Volk häufig zu, und stieg sogar auf Dächer. Seck. 348.

army, drove it into the Tessino, and decided the captivity of the King of France. This old general, seeing Luther pass, touched him on the shoulder, and shaking his head, blanched in many battles, said kindly, "My poor monk, my poor monk, thou hast a march and a struggle to go through, such as neither I nor many other captains have seen the like in our most bloody battles. But if thy cause be just, and thou art sure of it, go forward in God's name, and fear nothing! He will not forsake thee!"* A noble tribute rendered by martial spirit to the courage of the soul. 'He that ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city,' was the word of a king.†

And now the doors of the hall were thrown open,—Luther entered, and many who made no part of the Diet gained admission with him. Never had any man appeared before so august an assembly. The Emperor Charles V., whose kingdoms extended across both hemispheres,—his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand,—six Electors of the Empire, most of whose successors are now crowned heads,—twenty-four Dukes, many of them territorial sovereigns, and among whom were some who bore a name in after times held in fear and horror by the nations who accepted the Reformation—(the Duke of Alva and his two sons)—eight margraves,—thirty archbishops, bishops, and prelates,—seven ambassadors, including those of France and of England,—

* Münchlein, Münchlein, du gehest jetzt einen Gang, einen solchen Stand zu thun, dergleichen Ich und mancher Obrister, auch in unser allerernestesten Schlacht-Ordnung nicht gethan haben . . (Seck. 348.)

† Proverbs, xvi. 32.

the deputies of ten free cities,—a number of princes, counts, and barons of rank,—the Pope's Nuncios,—in all two hundred persons. Such was the imposing assemblage before which stood Martin Luther.

His appearance there was of itself a signal victory over the Papacy. The man whom the Pope had condemned stood before a tribunal raised by that very fact above the Pope's authority. Placed under interdict, and struck out from human fellowship by the Pope,—he was cited in respectful terms, and received before the noblest of human auditories. The Pope had decreed that his lips should be closed for ever,—and he was about to unclose them in presence of thousands assembled from the remotest countries of Christendom. Thus had an immense revolution been effected by his means; Rome was brought down from her seat, and the power that thus humbled her was the word of a monk!

Some Princes who were near him, observing the humble son of the miner of Mansfeld awed and affected in this assembly of sovereigns, approached him kindly. One of them whispered, "Fear not them who are able to kill the body, and cannot destroy the soul." Another whispered to him, "When you are brought before kings it shall be given to you by the Spirit of your Father what you shall say."* Thus was the monk strengthened with his Master's words by the great ones of this world.

Meanwhile the guards made way for Luther. He stepped forward, and found himself in front of the throne of Charles V. All eyes were turned

* Einige aus denen Reichs-Gliedern sprachen Ihm einen Muth, mit Christi Worten, ein . . . (Matt x. 20, 28. Seckendorf, p. 348.)

upon him. The confusion was stilled, and there was a profound silence. "Say nothing until a question is put to you," said the Marshal of the Empire as he quitted him.

After a moment's solemn pause, John *Eck*, the Chancellor of the Archbishop of Treves, and the friend of Aleander, whom we must not confound with the theologian of that name, rose, and in a clear and sonorous accent, first in Latin and then in German, said:

"Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible Majesty has cited you before his throne, acting on the opinion and advice of the States of the Holy Roman Empire, to require you to answer to these questions. First: Do you acknowledge these writings to have been composed by you?" At the same time the speaker pointed with his finger to about twenty volumes placed on a table in the centre of the hall, immediately before Luther. "I could not guess where they had obtained them," said Luther, relating the fact; it was Aleander who had taken the trouble to collect them. "Secondly," continued the Chancellor, "Are you prepared to retract these works, and the propositions contained therein, or do you persist in what you have therein advanced?"

Luther, without faltering, was about to answer the first question in the affirmative, when Jerome Schurff, hastily interrupting him, exclaimed aloud, "Let their titles be read."*

The Chancellor advancing to the table read the titles. There were in the number several works of

* Legantur tituli librorum. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 588.)

a devotional character, and altogether unconnected with the controverted points.

The enumeration being gone through, Luther spoke as follows, first in Latin, then in German:—

"Most gracious Emperor, Princes, and Lords!

"His Imperial Majesty puts to me two questions.

"As to the first, I acknowledge the books, the names of which have been read, to be of my writing; I cannot deny them.

"As to the second, seeing that it is a question which has reference to faitlf, and the salvation of souls,—a question which concerns the word of God, the greatest and most precious treasure of heaven or earth,*—I should act rashly if I were to answer without reflection. I might say less than the circumstance demands, or more than truth requires, and so sin against that word of Christ,—*Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in heaven.* Therefore it is that I most humbly desire his Imperial Majesty to allow me time, that I may answer without offending against the word of God."

This reply, far from countenancing the supposition of indecision in Luther, was worthy of the Reformer and of the assembly. It was fit that he should act calmly and circumspectly in a question of such grave importance, that this solemn moment of his life might be clear from the suspicion of passion or precipitancy. Besides by taking reasonable time the deliberate firmness of his resolution would

* Weil dies eine Frage vom Glauben und der Seelen Seligkeit ist und Gottes Wort belanget . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 573.)

be the more strikingly apparent. Many men in the history of the world have brought great evils on themselves and their contemporaries by a hasty word. Luther restrained his own naturally impetuous temper :—he suppressed the words that were on his tongue and kept silence, when all the feelings that inspired him struggled to find utterance. This self-command and calmness, so unusual in such a man, increased his power a hundred-fold, and enabled him afterwards to answer with a prudence, a force, and a dignity, which baulked the expectations of his enemies, and confounded their pride and malice.

Nevertheless, as his tone had been respectful, many thought he was wavering. A ray of hope appeared for the Roman courtiers. Charles, eager to know more of a man whose teaching disturbed the Empire, had observed him narrowly. Turning to one of his courtiers, he remarked contemptuously, "Certainly that man will never induce me to turn heretic."* Then rising from his seat, the young Emperor, attended by his ministers, withdrew to the council chamber;—the Electors assembled in another apartment together with the Princes;—the deputies of the free cities in a third. The Diet on re-assembling agreed to grant the request. It was a notable blunder in men actuated by passion and prejudice.

"Martin Luther," said the Chancellor of Treves, "his Imperial Majesty, acting in the goodness of

* Hic certe nunquam efficeret ut hæreticus evaderem. (Pallavicini, i. p. 115.)

his nature, consents to allow you one day's delay; but on condition that you make answer by word of mouth, and not in writing."

Immediately the Imperial herald came forward and conducted Luther back to the hotel. Threats and shouts accompanied him through the crowd;—alarming reports reached his friends. "The Diet is displeased," it was said: "the Pope's envoys triumph;—the Reformer will fall a victim." Men's passions were roused. Some gentlemen repaired in haste to Luther. "Doctor," said they in agitation, "what is all this? They say they are resolved to bring you to the stake . . . .* If they dare attempt it," they added, "it shall be at the peril of their lives." "And it would have been so," said Luther, repeating their words at Eisleben twenty years later.

On the other hand, Luther's enemies were all confidence. "He has begged for time," said they; "he is going to retract. At a distance his speech was arrogant;—but now his courage forsakes him... He is conquered."

Luther was perhaps the only person at Worms perfectly undisturbed. A few minutes after his return from the Diet he wrote to the counsellor Cuspianus: "I am writing to you from the very midst of a tempest (perhaps he alluded to the noise of the crowd outside his hotel). An hour ago I appeared before the Emperor and his brother.† I

* Wie geht's? man sagt sie wollen euch verbrennen . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 588.)

† Hac hora coram Cæsare et fratre Romano constiti. (L. Epp. i. p. 587.)

avowed myself the author of my books, and I have promised to give my answer to-morrow, as to recantation. By the help of Jesus Christ, I will not retract a single letter of my writings."*

The commotion among the people and the soldiers of the states was increasing every hour. Whilst the two parties were repairing calmly to the Diet,—the people and the soldiers came to blows in the streets. The Spanish troops, proud and stern, gave great offence by their insolence to the burghers of the city. One of these satellites of Charles, finding in a bookseller's shop the Pope's Bull, published with a *commentary* written by the knight Hütten, laid hands upon it, tore it in pieces, and trampled it under foot. Others having discovered several copies of Luther's tract on the Captivity of Babylon, carried them off and tore them up. The common people roused to resistance, fell upon the soldiers and compelled them to retire. Another time a mounted Spaniard pursued, sword in hand, through the public streets of Worms, a German, who fled from him,—and the people in their fright made no attempt to stop the pursuer.†

Some politic persons thought they had hit upon an expedient to rescue Luther. "Retract," said they, "your errors in doctrine, but adhere to all you have said concerning the Pope and his court, and you will be safe." Aleander trembled at the suggestion. But Luther, not to be moved from his purpose, declared that he cared little for a political reformation if it were not based upon faith.

* Verum ego ne apicem quidem revocabo. (L. Epp. i. p. 587.)

† Kappens Ref. Urkunden, ii. p. 448.

On the 18th of April, Father Glapio, the Chancellor Eck, and Aleander met early in the morning agreeably to orders from Charles V. to settle the course of proceeding with Luther.

Luther composed his thoughts. He felt that tranquillity of soul without which man can do nothing truly great. He prayed;—he read the Word of God;—he glanced over his own writings, and endeavoured to give a suitable form to his answer. The thought that he was about to bear testimony for Jesus Christ and his word in the face of the Emperor and of the whole Empire dilated his heart with joy! The moment when he was to make his appearance was approaching. He drew near the table on which the volume of the Holy Scriptures lay open, placed his left hand upon it, and raising the other towards heaven, he vowed to adhere constantly to the Gospel, and to confess his faith freely, even though he should be called to seal his confession with his blood. This done, he felt the peace of his soul increased.

At four o'clock the herald presented himself, and conducted Luther to the hall of the Diet. The general curiosity was extreme, for the answer was to be decisive. The Diet being engaged in deliberation, Luther was obliged to wait in the court, surrounded by a dense crowd, eagerly moving to and fro, and resembling a sea of heads. For two hours, the Reformer was hemmed in by the multitude pressing to see him. "I was not used," said he, "to such ways and noises."* To an ordinary

* Des Getümmels und Wesens war Ich gar nicht gewohnt. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 588, 535.)

man this would have been a grievous hindrance to preparedness of mind. But Luther was walking with God. His look was serene; his features unruffled. The Eternal was placing him on a rock. Evening began to close in, and the torches were lighted in the hall. Their light gleamed through the ancient painted glass to the court beyond, and the whole scene wore an aspect of more than common solemnity. At length the Doctor was admitted. Many persons obtained admission with him, for every one was desirous to hear his answer. The Princes having taken their seats, and Luther being again in presence of Charles V.—the Chancellor of the Elector of Treves broke silence, and said:

"Martin Luther, you requested yesterday a delay which is now expired. Certainly the Diet was not bound in justice to accede to your desire, since every man should be so grounded in his faith as to be able at all times to give an answer to those who ask him; much more one who is an eminent and learned doctor in the Scriptures .... Now, therefore, answer the enquiry of his Majesty, who has manifested so much indulgence. Are you prepared to defend all that your writings contain, or do you wish to retract any part of them?"

After having spoken these words, the Chancellor repeated them in German.

"Hereupon," say the Acts of Worms, "Doctor Martin Luther made answer in a low and humble tone, without any vehemence or violence, but with gentleness and mildness, and in a manner full of

respect and diffidence, yet with much joy and Christian firmness."*

"Most Serene Emperor, and you illustrious Princes and gracious Lords," said Luther, turning towards Charles, and looking round the assembly, "I this day appear before you in all humility, according to your command, and I implore your Majesty and your august Highnesses, by the mercies of God, to listen with favour to the defence of a cause which I am well assured is just and right. I ask pardon, if by reason of my ignorance, I am wanting in the manners that befit a court; for I have not been brought up in king's palaces,—but in the seclusion of a cloister.

"Two questions were yesterday put to me by his Imperial Majesty; the first, whether I was the author of the books whose titles were read: the second, whether I wished to revoke or defend the doctrine I have taught. I answered the first, and I adhere to that answer.

"As to the second, I have composed writings on very different subjects. In some I have discussed Faith and Good Works, in a spirit at once so pure, clear, and Christian, that even my adversaries themselves, far from finding anything to censure, confess that these writings are profitable, and deserve to be perused by devout persons. The Pope's bull, violent as it is—acknowledges this. What then should I be doing if I were now to retract these writings? Wretched man! I alone, of all men living, should be abandoning truths approved

* Schreyt nicht sehr noch heftig, sondern redet fein, sittich, züchtig und bescheiden . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 576.)

by the unanimous voice of friends and enemies, and opposing doctrines that the whole world glories in confessing.

"I have composed, secondly, certain works against Popery, wherein I have attacked such as by false doctrines, irregular lives, and scandalous examples, afflict the Christian world, and ruin the bodies and souls of men. And is not this confirmed by the grief of all who fear God? Is it not manifest that the laws and human doctrines of the Popes entangle, vex, and distress the consciences of the faithful, whilst the crying and endless extortions of Rome engulf the property and wealth of Christendom, and more particularly of this illustrious nation?

"If I were to revoke what I have written on that subject, what should I do . . . but strengthen this tyranny, and open a wider door to so many and flagrant impieties?* Bearing down all resistance with fresh fury, we should behold these proud men swell, foam, and rage more than ever! And not merely would the yoke which now weighs down Christians be made more grinding by my retractation,—it would thereby become, so to speak, lawful,—for, by my retractation, it would receive confirmation from your most Serene Majesty, and all the States of the Empire. Great God! I should thus be like to an infamous cloak, used to hide and cover over every kind of malice and tyranny.

"In the third and last place,—I have written some books against private individuals, who had

* Nicht allein die Fenster sondern auch Thur und Thor aufthäte. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 573.)

undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome by destroying the faith. I freely confess that I may have attacked such persons with more violence than was consistent with my profession as an ecclesiastic: I do not think of myself as a saint;—but neither can I retract these books, because I should, by so doing, sanction the impieties of my opponents; and they would thence take occasion to crush God's people with still more cruelty.

"Yet, as I am a mere man, and not God, I will defend myself after the example of Jesus Christ, who said: '*If I have spoken evil, bear witness against me.*' (John xviii. 23.) How much more should I, who am but dust and ashes, and so prone to error, desire that every one should bring forward what he can against my doctrine.

"Therefore, most Serene Emperor, and you illustrious Princes, and all, whether high or low, who hear me, I implore you by the mercies of God to prove to me by the writings of the prophets and apostles that I am in error. As soon as I shall be convinced, I will instantly retract all my errors, and will myself be the first to seize my writings, and commit them to the flames.

"What I have just said I think will clearly show, that I have well considered and weighed the dangers to which I am exposing myself; but far from being dismayed by them, I rejoice exceedingly to see the Gospel this day, as of old, a cause of disturbance and disagreement. It is the character and destiny of God's word. 'I came not to send peace unto the earth, but a sword,' said Jesus Christ. God is wonderful and awful in his coun-

sels. Let us have a care, lest in our endeavours to arrest discords, we be found to fight against the holy word of God and bring down upon our heads a frightful deluge of inextricable dangers, present disaster, and everlasting desolations . . . . Let us have a care lest the reign of the young and noble Prince, the Emperor Charles, on whom, next to God, we build so many hopes, should not only commence, but continue and terminate its course under the most fatal auspices. I might cite examples drawn from the oracles of God," continued Luther, speaking with noble courage in the presence of the mightiest monarch of the world. "I might speak of Pharaohs,—of kings of Babylon, or of Israel, who were never more contributing to their own ruin, than when, by measures in appearance most prudent, they thought to establish their authority! God removeth the mountains and they know not. (Job ix. 5.)

"In speaking thus, I do not suppose that such noble Princes have need of my poor judgment; but I wish to acquit myself of a duty that Germany has a right to expect from her children. And so commending myself to your August Majesty, and your most Serene Highnesses, I beseech you in all humility, not to permit the hatred of my enemies to rain upon me an indignation I have not deserved."*

Luther had pronounced these words in German, with modesty, and yet with much earnestness and

* This speech as well as most of the documents we cite are taken word for word from authentic documents. See L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 776-780.

resolution ;* he was desired to repeat them in Latin : (the Emperor was not fond of German). The splendid assembly which surrounded the Reformer, its noise and excitement had exhausted him. "I was bathed in sweat," said he, "and standing in the centre of the Princes." Frederic of Thun, confidential counsellor of the Elector of Saxony, who by his master's orders had taken his stand at the Reformer's side, to guard him against surprise or violence, seeing the exhaustion of the poor monk, said, "If you are not equal to the exertion of repeating your speech, what you have said will suffice." But Luther, having taken a moment's breathing time, began again, and repeated his address in Latin with undiminished power.†

"The Elector was quite pleased with that," said the Reformer, when relating the circumstance.

As soon as he stopped speaking, the Chancellor of Treves, spokesman of the Diet, said angrily :—

"You have not given any answer to the enquiry put to you. You are not to question the decisions of the Councils,—you are required to return a clear and distinct answer. Will you, or will you not retract?" Luther then answered unhesitatingly :—"Since your most Serene Majesty and your High Mightinesses require of me a simple, clear, and direct answer, I will give one,‡ and it is this :—I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or to the Councils,—because it is as clear as noon-day that they

* Non clamose at modeste, non tamen sine christianâ animositate et constantiâ. (L. Opp lat. ii. p. 165.)

† See L. Opp. lat. ii. 165-167.

‡ Dabo illud neque dentatum, neque cornutum. (Ibid. p. 166.)

have often fallen into error, and even into glaring inconsistency with themselves. If then I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scripture or by cogent reasons; if I am not satisfied by the very texts that I have cited; and if my judgment is not in this way brought into subjection to God's word, I neither can nor will retract any thing:—for it cannot be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience." Then turning a look on that assembly before whom he stood, and which held in its hands his life or death: "I stand here, and can say no more:—*God help me.* Amen."*

Thus did Luther, constrained to act upon his Faith, led by his conscience to the surrender of his life, bound by the noblest of all necessity,—the servant of the truth he believed, and in that service most free;—like a vessel freighted with treasure more precious than itself that the pilot runs upon the rocks;—pronounce the sublime words that at the distance of three centuries still make our hearts bound within us.—Thus spake, in presence of the Emperor and the chiefs of the nation, a single monk! and that weak and poor man standing alone, but depending on the grace of the Most High, shone forth grander and mightier than them all. His words came with a power against which the great of this world could do nothing. This is that weakness of God which is stronger than men. The Empire and the Church on the one hand,—an obscure individual on the other, have looked upon each other! God had gathered together these kings and prelates, to bring publicly to naught their wisdom.

* Hier stehe ich: Ich kan nicht anders; Gott helfe mir! Amen. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 580.)

The battle is lost; and the consequences of this defeat of the powers of this world will be felt among all nations, and in all ages to come.

The assembly was motionless with astonishment. Several of the Princes present could scarcely conceal their admiration. The Emperor, recovering from first impressions, exclaimed, "The monk speaks with an intrepid heart and unshaken courage."* The Spaniards and Italians alone were confounded, and soon began to ridicule a moral grandeur which they could not comprehend.

"If you do not retract," resumed the Chancellor, as soon as the assembly had recovered from the impression produced by Luther's speech,—"the Emperor and the States of the Empire will proceed to consider how to deal with an obstinate heretic." At these words Luther's friends trembled;—but the monk repeated: "May God be my helper! for I can retract nothing."†

This said, Luther withdrew, and the Princes deliberated. Every one saw clearly that the moment was critical for Christendom. On the yea or nay of this monk, perhaps, depended the repose of the Church and of the world for ages to come. In the desire to over-awe him, he had been raised on a platform in sight of a whole nation: the attempt to give publicity to his defeat had only served to enhance his victory over his enemies. The partisans of Rome could not patiently submit to this humiliation. Luther was again called in, and the speaker thus addressed him:—"Martin, you have not spoken with that humility which befits your

* Der Monch redet unerschrocken, mit getrostem Muth! (Seckendorf, p. 350.)

† L. Opp. (W.) xv. 2235.

condition. The distinction you have drawn as to your works was needless, for if you retracted such as contain errors, the Emperor would not allow the rest to be burned. It is absurd to require to be refuted by Scripture, when you are reviving heresies condemned by the general Council of Constance. The Emperor therefore commands you to say simply, yes or no, whether you mean to affirm what you have advanced, or whether you desire to retract any part thereof."—"I have no other answer to give than that I have already given," said Luther quietly. They understood him.—Firm as a rock,—the billows of the powers of the world had broken harmlessly at his feet. The simple energy of his words, his erect countenance, the glance of his eye, the inflexible firmness that might be traced in his rude German features, had indeed left a deep impression on the assembly. All hope of quelling his spirit had vanished. The Spaniards, the Belgians, and even the Italians, were silent. The monk had triumphed over these powers of this world. He had said *No* to the Church and to the Empire. Charles the Fifth arose from his seat and the whole assembly rose at the same instant. "The Diet will meet again to-morrow morning to hear the Emperor's decision," said the Chancellor aloud.

It was night;—each repaired home in the dark. Two of the Imperial officers were appointed to accompany Luther. Some persons took it into their heads that his doom had been decided, that they were conducting him to prison, which he would only leave to mount the scaffold. Then a tumult spread. Several gentlemen demanded aloud: "Are they leading him to prison?" "No!" answered Luther,

"they are conducting me to my hotel." On hearing this the commotion subsided. Then certain Spaniards of the Emperor's household followed the bold man through the streets that led to the hotel, with shouts and mockery,* while others poured forth the cries of a wild beast bereft of his prey. But Luther maintained his firmness and assurance.

Such was the scene of Worms. The intrepid monk who had hitherto boldly braved all his enemies, spoke on that occasion to those who thirsted for his blood with calm dignity and humility. With no exaggeration, no enthusiasm of the flesh, no irascibility; he was in peace in the liveliest emotion; unpresumptuous, though withstanding the powers of this world; and full of grandeur in presence of the great ones of the earth. Behold an indubitable sign that Luther was then acting in obedience to God, and not to the suggestions of his own pride. In the hall at Worms was one greater than Luther or than Charles. "When ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."† Never, perhaps, has this promise been more signally fulfilled.

A powerful impression had been produced on the chiefs of the empire. Luther had remarked this; and it had given him new courage. The Pope's adherents were provoked because Eck had not earlier interrupted the speech of the guilty monk. Several

* Subsannatione hominem Dei et longo rugitu prosecuti sunt. (L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 166.)

† Matt. x. 18–20.

princes and lords were won over to his cause by the tone of deep conviction with which he had defended it. It is true, with some the effect was transient; but some who then concealed their thoughts, at a later period declared themselves with great boldness.

Luther had returned to his hotel, and was seeking in repose to recruit his strength, exhausted in the stern and trying events of the day. Spalatin and others of his friends surrounded him, giving thanks to God. As they were discoursing, a servant entered, bearing a silver vase filled with Eimbek beer. "My master," said he, as he offered it to Luther, "desires you to refresh yourself with this beverage." "What Prince is it," said the Wittemberg Doctor, "who has me in such gracious remembrance?" It was the aged Duke Eric of Brunswick. The Reformer was moved by this offering from a powerful lord belonging to the Pope's party. "His Highness himself," continued the messenger, "drank of the cup before sending it to you." Hereupon Luther, being thirsty, poured out some of the Duke's beer, and after having drunk, he said:—"As on this day Duke Eric has remembered me, may our Lord Jesus Christ remember him in the hour of his last struggle."* The gift was a trifling one; but Luther, desiring to show his gratitude to a Prince who thought of him at such a moment, gave him of such as he had,—a prayer! The servant bore his message to his master. The aged Duke called to mind these words at the moment of his death, and addressing a young page, Francis

* Also gedencke seiner unser Herr Christus in seinem letzten Kampff. (Seck. p. 354.)

Kram, who was standing at his bedside:—"Take the Bible," said he, "and read to me." The youth read the words of Christ, and the soul of the dying man took comfort. "*Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ,*" said the Saviour, "*verily I say unto you he shall not lose his reward.*"

The servant of the Duke of Brunswick had scarcely left him, when a messenger from the Elector of Saxony brought orders to Spalatin to come to him immediately. Frederic had attended the Diet with many apprehensions. He had expected that Luther's courage would have failed him in the Emperor's presence. Hence he had been deeply affected by the Reformer's firmness. He felt proud of having taken such a man under his protection. When the chaplain arrived, the table was spread. The Elector was just sitting down to supper with his court, and already the servant in waiting had taken way the vase in which it was the custom to wash before eating. On seeing Spalatin enter, Frederic instantly made a sign to him to follow him; and as soon as he found himself alone with him in his bedchamber, he said with strong emotion:—"Oh! how Luther spoke before the Emperor and all the States of the Empire:—all I feared was that he might go too far!"* From that time Frederic formed a resolution to protect the Doctor more openly.

Aleander saw the effect that Luther had produced; there was no time to lose. It was necessary to urge the young Emperor to adopt vigorous mea-

* O wie schön hat Pater Martinus geredet. (Seck. p. 355.)

sures. The moment was favourable: a war with France was impending. Leo X. eager to aggrandize his states, and caring little for the peace of Christendom, was at the same time secretly negociating two treaties,—one with Charles against Francis, the other with Francis against Charles.* By the former he stipulated with the Emperor for the possession of Parma, Placentia, and Ferrara; by the latter he claimed from the King a district of the kingdom of Naples, which should be conquered from Charles. The latter felt the importance of gaining Leo to his side, that he might be strengthened by his alliance in the war with his rival of France. The mighty Pontiff's friendship seemed to be cheaply purchased by the sacrifice of Luther.

The day following Luther's appearance being Friday, the 19th of April, the Emperor caused to be read aloud to the Diet, a message written in Flemish by his own hand:—†

"Descended from the Christian Emperors of Germany, from the Catholic Kings of Spain, from the Archdukes of Austria and Dukes of Burgundy, who have all distinguished themselves as defenders of the faith of Rome, I am firmly resolved to tread in the footsteps of my ancestors. A single monk, led astray by his own madness, erects himself

* Guicciardini, L. xiv. p. 175. Dumont Corp. Dipl. tom. iv. p. 96. Dicesi del papa Leone, che quando l'aveva fatto lega con alcuno, prima soleva dir che pero non si dovea restar de tratar cum lo altro principe opposto. (Suriano, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, MSC. archives of Venice.)

† Autographum in linguâ Burgundicâ ab ipsomet exaratum. (Cochlæus, p. 32.)

against the faith of Christendom. I will sacrifice my kingdoms, my power, my friends, my treasure, my body and blood, my thoughts and my life, to stay the further progress of this impiety.* I am about to dismiss the Augustine Luther, forbidding him to cause the least disturbance among the people. I will then take measures against him and his adherents, as open heretics, by excommunication, interdict, and every means necessary to their destruction.† I call on the members of the states to comport themselves like faithful Christians."

This address was not well received by all to whom it was addressed. Charles, young and hasty, had not observed the customary form which obliged him first to ask the opinion of the Diet. Immediately two directly opposite parties began to show themselves. The creatures of the Pope, the Elector of Brandenburg, and several dignitaries of the church demanded that Luther's safe-conduct should not be respected.‡ "His ashes ought to be thrown into the Rhine," said they, "as was the fate of John Huss." Charles, if we may believe one historian, subsequently repented bitterly that he did not adopt this cowardly suggestion. "I acknowledge," said he, towards the close of life, "that I committed a great mistake in not punishing Luther with death.

* Regna, thesauros, amicos, corpus, sanguinem, vitam, spiritumque profundere. (Pallavicini, i. p. 118.)

† Und andern Wegen sie zu vertilgen. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 581.)

‡ Dass Luthero das sichere Geleit nicht möchte gehalten werden. (Seckend. p. 357.)

I was not bound to keep my promise; that heretic had offended a master greater than I. I might and I ought to have forgotten my pledge, and avenged the offence he committed against God. It is because I did not have him put to death, that heresy has ever since been spreading. His death would have stifled it in its cradle."*

This frightful proposal filled the Elector and all Luther's friends with alarm. "The death of John Huss," said the Elector Palatine, "has brought too many calamities on Germany for us to think of again erecting a like scaffold." Even Duke George exclaimed: "The German Princes will not endure the violation of a safe-conduct. This first Diet, presided over by our new Emperor, will not be guilty of so shameful an action. Such perfidy befits not the ancient good faith of the Germans." The Bavarian Princes, though attached to the Roman Church, supported this protest; and the prospect of his death that Luther's friends had before them gradually disappeared.

The report of these discussions, which lasted for two days, circulated in the city. Party spirit was roused. Certain gentlemen who had espoused the new opinions began to speak their minds boldly on the act of treachery that Aleander solicited. "The

* Sandoval Hist. de Carlos V. quoted by Llorente in his History of the Inquisition, ii. p. 57. According to Llorente, the supposition that Charles toward the end of his life leaned to evangelical opinions is an invention of the Protestants, and of the enemies of Philip II. The question is a problem in history which the numerous citations of Llorente seem, unhappily, to solve conformably to his statement.

Emperor," said they, "is young, and is led away by the cajoleries of Papists and bishops."* Pallavicini mentions four hundred nobles, all ready with their swords to enforce respect to Luther's safe-conduct. On the morning of Saturday, placards were seen posted on the doors of the houses, and in the public squares, some against Luther, and others in his favour. In one was read the strong and simple words of Ecclesiastes, "*Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!*" It was rumoured that Sickengen had assembled, at a distance of a few leagues from Worms, within the impregnable walls of his fortress, a number of knights and soldiers, and waited only the issue of the affair to know how to act. The popular enthusiasm, not merely in Worms, but even in the remotest towns of the Empire,†—the intrepid courage of the knights,—the devotion of several princes to the cause of the Reformation—all together, gave clear intimation to Charles and to the Diet that the course of proceeding urged by the Romanists might place in jeopardy the supreme authority, give birth to popular commotions, and endanger the very stability of the Empire itself.‡ It was but a question—whether a single monk should be brought to the stake; but the princes and partisans of Rome could not muster among them all either the strength or the courage necessary for the act. Doubtless, also, Charles V., yet in his youth,

* Eum esse puerum, qui nutu et blanditiis Papistarum et Episcoporum trahatur quocunque velint. (Cochlæus, p. 33.)

† Verum etiam in longinquis Germaniæ civitatibus, motus et murmura plebium. (Ibid.)

‡ Es wäre ein Aufruhr daraus worden, says Luther.

feared to incur the guilt of perjury. We might infer this, from a saying which, if report be true, he uttered at this juncture. "Though honour and good faith should be banished from the earth, they should find an asylum in the breasts of princes." It is a melancholy reflection that he appears to have forgotten this maxim before his death. But the Emperor may have been actuated by other motives. The Florentine Vettori, the friend of Leo X. and of Machiavelli, affirms that Charles spared Luther that he might hold the Pope in check.*

In the sitting of Saturday the violent propositions of Aleander were rejected. Luther was the object of much affection, and a desire was general to rescue this simple man, whose confidence in God was so affecting; but it was wished, at the same time, to save the Church. Men trembled at the foreseen consequences of either the triumph or the punishment of the Reformer. Plans of conciliation were started, and it was proposed to make a new effort with the Doctor of Wittemberg. The Archbishop Elector of Mentz himself, the young and prodigal Albert, "more devout than bold," says Pallavicini,† had caught the alarm at witnessing the interest evinced by the people and the nobility in the fate of the monk of Saxony. His chaplain, Capito, who during his residence at Bale had contracted acquaintance with the evangelical priest of

* Carlo si excuso di non poter procedere piu oltre, rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu che conoscendo che il Papa temeva molto di questa doctrina di Luthero, lo volle tenere con questo freno. (Vettori, Istoria d'Italia MSC. Biblioth. Corsini at Rome, extracted by Ranke.)

† Qui pio magis animo erat quam forti. (Pallavicini, p. 118.)

Zurich, Zwingle, a courageous confessor of the truth, of whom we have before had occasion to speak, there can be little doubt, also represented to Albert the justice of the Reformer's cause. The worldly Archbishop experienced one of those transient recurrences of Christian feelings which we sometimes trace in the lives of men, and consented to wait on the Emperor and request him to give time for a fresh attempt. But Charles would not hear of any thing of the kind. On Monday the 22nd of April, the Princes came in a body to repeat the request of Albert. "I will not go from what I have laid down," replied the Emperor. "I will authorize no one to have any official communication with Luther. But," added he (much to the indignation of Aleander) "I will allow that man three days' consideration; during which time any one may exhort him privately, as he may think fit."* It was all his friends asked. The Reformer, thought they, elevated by the solemnity of his public trial, would perhaps give way in more friendly conference, and, by this means, it might be possible to save him from the gulph that yawned before him.

The Elector of Saxony knew the very contrary: hence he was full of anxiety. "If it were in my power," he wrote on the next day to his brother, Duke John, "I would be ready to undertake the defence of Luther. You can hardly imagine how I am beset by the partisans of Rome. If I were to tell you all, you would hear strange things.† They

* Quibus privatim exhortari hominem possent. (Pallav. i. p. 119.)

† Wunder hören werden. (Seckend. 365.)

are bent upon his ruin;—and if any one evinces the least interest in his safety, he is instantly cried down as a heretic. May God, who forsaketh not the cause of the righteous, bring the struggle to a happy issue!" Frederic, without betraying his warm affection for the Reformer, contented himself with keeping a constant eye upon all his movements.

Not so men of all ranks at Worms. Their sympathy broke forth without fear or disguise. On the Friday, a train of princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, ecclesiastics, laity and common people, surrounded the Reformer's lodging, entering and departing as if never satisfied with gazing on him.* He was become the *man* of Germany. Even those who did not question his being in error, were affected by the nobility of soul which led him to peril his life at the call of his conscience. Luther had the happiness of holding with many persons at Worms, and those some of the most intelligent of the nation, conversations abounding in that salt with which all his words were seasoned. All, on leaving him, carried away a sentiment of generous enthusiasm for truth. "How many things have I to tell you," wrote George Vogler, private secretary to the Margrave Casimir von Brandenburg. "What conversations, overflowing with piety and kindness, Luther has had with me and others. Oh! how rich in grace is that man!"†

One day a young Prince, of seventeen years of age, galloped into the court of the inn;—it was Philip,

* Und konnten nicht satt werden ihn zu sehen. (L. Opp xvii. p. 581.)

† Wie eine holdselige Person er ist. (Meuzel Magaz. i. p. 207.)

who for two years had governed Hesse. The young Landgrave was of decided and enterprising character,—wise above his years, warlike, impetuous and little accustomed to be guided by any thing but his own will. Struck by Luther's speech, he wished to have a nearer view of him. "He however was not on my side in the matter,"* said Luther, in relating it. He threw himself from his horse,—ran up the stairs without ceremony to Luther's apartment, and addressing him, said, "Well, Doctor; how are you going on?" "My noble lord," answered Luther, "I think all will end well." "I hear," replied the Landgrave, laughing, "that you, Doctor, teach that a woman may leave her husband and take another when the first is proved to be too old." The courtiers of the Imperial Court had invented this story. The enemies of truth never fail to circulate inventions as pretended doctrines of Christian teachers. "No, my lord," replied Luther, with gravity, "do not talk thus, I beg of your Highness." On this the Prince thrust out his hand to the Doctor, cordially grasping Luther's, with the words: "Dear Doctor, if you are in the right, may God be your helper!" and then leaving the room, jumped into his saddle and rode off. It was the first interview of these two men, who were destined subsequently to stand in the van of the Reformation, defending it,—the one by the sword of the Word,—and the other by that of kingly power.

The Archbishop of Treves, Richard von Greiffenklau, by permission of Charles, had undertaken the office of mediator. Richard, who was intimate

* War noch nicht auf meiner Seite. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 589.)

with the Elector of Saxony, and a staunch Roman Catholic, wished, by accommodating this affair, to render a service to his friend as well as to the Church. In the evening of Monday, 22nd April, just as Luther was sitting down to table, a messenger from this prelate brought him word that the Archbishop wished to see him on the day after the morrow, Wednesday, at six in the morning.

The chaplain, attended by Sturm, the Imperial herald, was at Luther's door before six in the morning of that day. But already, and as early as four o'clock, Aleander had summoned Cochlæus to his side. The Nuncio had quickly discerned in the man whom Capito had introduced to him a devoted instrument of the Roman Court, and one on whom he could rely as upon himself. Not being himself able to attend the interview, Aleander wished much to have some one in place of himself. "Do you go direct to the Archbishop of Treves," said he to the Dean of Frankfort, "take no part in the discussion, but merely pay attention to all that is said, so as to be able to bring me an exact report."* The Reformer repaired, accompanied by some of his friends, to the Archbishop's residence. He found the Prelate surrounded by the Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, the Bishops of Brandenburg and Augsburg, some nobles and deputies of the free cities, and other civilians and divines, among whom were Cochlæus and Jerome Wehe, chancellor of Baden. The latter, a learned civilian, was anxious to see a reformation

* Aleander, mane hora quarta vocaverit ad se Cochlæum, jubens ut . . . audiret solum . . . (Cochlæus, p. 36.)

of general morals and discipline: he went even further in his wishes. "What we want," said he, "is that the word of God, so long hidden under a bushel, should be brought forward in all its brightness."* This friend to conciliation was appointed to conduct the conference. Turning kindly to Luther, he said, "The object in summoning you hither is not to dispute with you,—but to urge upon you brotherly exhortations. You know how carefully Scripture enjoins us to beware of the 'arrow that flieth by day, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day.' The adversary of the human race has impelled you to the publishing of certain things contrary to the faith. Consider your own eternal interest, and that of the Empire. Have a care, lest those whom Christ hath redeemed from eternal death by his blood, should by you be led away to their everlasting ruin. Cease to set up your judgment against that of holy Councils. Unless we adhere to the decrees of our fathers, there will be nothing but confusion in the Church. The eminent Princes who hear me are quite intent upon saving you; but if you persist, the Emperor will banish you beyond the Empire,† and no part of the world will then be able to give you shelter. Consider therefore the fate that awaits you."

"Most serene Princes," answered Luther, "I thank you for your kind concern, for I am but a poor man,—of too mean station to look to be advised

* Dass das Wort Gottes, welches so lange unter dem Scheffel verborgen gesteckt, heller scheine . . . (Seckend. 364.)

† Und aus dem Reich verstossen. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 582. Sleidan, i. p. 97.)

by such great lords;"*—and he proceeded to say, "I have not censured all the Councils, but only the Council of Constance, for their condemnation of John Huss's doctrine: namely, that the Christian Church is the *assembly of those who are predestinated to salvation.*† It condemned that article of our faith, *I believe in the holy universal Church*, and even the word of God." He added: "I am told that my preaching gives occasion of stumbling. I answer, that it is impossible to preach the Gospel of Christ without offence. Why then should any such fear separate me from the Lord, and that divine word which alone is truth? No, rather will I give up body, blood, and life itself! . . ."

The Princes and Doctors having deliberated, Luther was called in, and Wehe resumed with mildness:—"We must honour the powers that be, even when they err: and sacrifice much for the sake of charity." Then with more earnestness he added:—"Submit to the judgment of the Emperor, and fear nothing."

LUTHER. "I consent with all my heart to the Emperor, the Princes, and even the humblest Christian's examining and judging of my writings, but on one single condition, namely, that they take God's word for their guide. Men have nothing to do, but to render obedience to that. My conscience is in dependance upon that word, and I am the bounden subject of its authority."‡

* Agnosco enim me homuncionem, longe viliorem esse, quam ut a tantis Principibus . . . (L. Opp. lat. p. 167.)

† Ecclesia Christi est universitas prædestinatorum. (Ibid.)

‡ Sie wollten sein Gewissen, das mit Gottes Wort und heiliger Schrifft gebunden und gefangen wäre, nicht dringen. (Math. p. 57.)

The Elector of Brandeburg. "If I understand you, Doctor, you will acknowledge no other judge than the Holy Scripture?"

Luther. "Yes, my lord, exactly so—that is my resolve."* On this the Princes and Doctors withdrew, but the excellent Archbishop of Treves was still loath to forego his undertaking. "Come with me," said he to Luther, passing into his private apartment, and at the same time he desired John Eck and Cochlæus of the one side, and Schurff and Amsdorff of the other party to follow. "Why," asked Eck, with warmth, "continually appeal to the Holy Scripture?—it is from thence come all heresies." But Luther, says his friend Mathesius, was unmoved as a rock, backed by the *true rock*, the word of the Lord. "The Pope," said he, "is no judge in things pertaining to the word of the Lord. It is the duty of every Christian to see and understand how to live and die."† They separated. The partisans of the Papacy felt Luther's superiority, and ascribed it to the circumstance of there being no one at hand capable of answering him. "If the Emperor had managed well," says Cochlæus, "when he cited Luther to Worms, he would have also summoned theologians capable of refuting his errors."

The Archbishop of Treves repaired to the Diet, and communicated the failure of his negociation. The surprise of the young Emperor was only equalled by his indignation. "It is high time,"

* Ja darauf stehe Ich (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 558.)

† Ein Christenmensch muss zusehen und richten . . . (L. Epp. i. p. 604.)

said he, "to put an end to this business." The Archbishop requesting a delay of two days, and all the Diet joining in the request, Charles V. gave consent. Aleander, losing patience, broke forth in complaints.*

While these things were passing in the Diet, Cochlæus burned with desire to bear off the victory denied to prelates and kings. Though he had ever and anon thrown out a word, in the presence of the Archbishop of Treves, the injunction of Aleander to maintain silence had restrained him. He resolved to make amends for this restraint, and lost no time, after giving the Pope's Nuncio an account of his mission, to present himself at Luther's lodging. Advancing to him in a friendly manner, he expressed his regret at the Emperor's resolution. After they had dined together, the conversation grew more animated.† Cochlæus urged Luther to retract. The latter shook his head. Several persons who sat at table could with difficulty control their feelings. They expressed their indignation that the Papists, instead of convincing, should seek to restrain the Reformer by force. "Well," said Cochlæus to Luther, growing impatient of these reproaches, "I offer to dispute publicly with you if you will forego your safe-conduct."‡ Of all things what Luther most wished was a public discussion. What was he to do? To throw

* De iis Aleander acerrime conquestus est. (Pallavicini, i. p. 120.)

† Peracto prandio. (Cochlæus, p. 36.)

‡ Und wollte mit mir disputiren, ich sollte allein das Geloit aufsagen. (L. Opp (L.) xvii. p. 589.)

aside his safe-conduct would be to risk destruction: to decline Cochlæus's challenge would be casting doubt upon his cause. The guests saw in this proposal an act of perfidy planned with Aleander, whom the Dean had just left. Vollrat von Watzdorf relieved Luther from the embarrassment of a decision. Warm in his temper, and roused to indignation at the thought of a stratagem devised for delivering Luther into the hands of the executioner,* he rose with great warmth, and seizing the terrified priest turned him out of doors; and blood might have flowed had not the guests interposed between the angry knight and the trembling Cochlæus.† The latter withdrew in confusion from the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes. Doubtless it was nothing but the warmth of argument that had drawn forth the words let slip by the Dean: doubtless there was no design concocted with Aleander to draw Luther into the toils. Cochlæus denies it, and we prefer to believe his assurance. Yet, true it is, he had but just quitted the Nuncio to present himself at Luther's lodging.

That same evening the Archbishop of Treves assembled at supper the persons who had been present in the morning's conference. He sought thus to unbend the minds of the parties and dispose them in favour of reconciliation. Luther, with all his intrepid firmness in presence of arbiters or judges, was remarkable in private intercourse for a good nature and cheerfulness, which gave ground

* Atque ita traderet eum carnificinæ. (Cochlæus, p. 36.)

† Das Ihm das Blut über den Kopff gelaufen wäre, wo man nicht gewehret hätte. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. 2. 589.)

to hope almost anything from him. The Archbishop's Chancellor, who had displayed so much stiffness in his official bearing, concurred in this plan, and towards the end of the repast, gave Luther's health. The latter was about to return the compliment,—the wine was poured out, and according to his custom he had made the sign of the cross on his glass; when all of a sudden the glass burst in his hands, and the wine was spilt upon the table. The guests were thunder-struck. Some of Luther's friends exclaimed, "It must have been poisoned,"* but the Doctor, without discomposure, answered with a smile —"Dear friends, either this wine was not destined for me,—or it would have disagreed with me:" adding calmly—"No doubt the glass has flown, because in washing, it was plunged too suddenly in cold water." These simple words have something of grandeur about them in his circumstances, and shew his unruffled peace. We cannot hence infer that the Romanists intended to poison Luther, above all, at the table of the Archbishop of Treves. This repast had no effect one way or another. Neither human applause, nor any fear of man could shake the Reformer's decision. It was from above!

On the morning of Thursday, the 25th of April, the Chancellor Wehe and Doctor Peutinger of Augsburg, the Emperor's counsellor, who had expressed much friendship for Luther on occasion of his interview with De Vio, repaired to the hotel of

* Es müsse Gift darinnen gewesen seyn.—Luther does not mention this circumstance, but his friend Razeberg, physician to the Elector John Frederic, records it in a manuscript history, found in the library of Gotha, and says he received it from an eye-witness.

"the Knights of Rhodes." The Elector of Saxony sent Frederic von Thun, and another of his council, to be present at the conference. "Rely upon us," said Wehe and Peutinger, earnestly desirous at any sacrifice to prevent the schism which was on the point of dividing the Church—"this business shall be concluded in a Christian spirit; take our word for it." "I answer at once," said Luther; "I consent to forego my safe-conduct,* and resign my person and my life to the Emperor's disposal; but as to the word of God . . . Never!" Frederic von Thun, in strong emotion, stood up, and addressing the two envoys, said, "Is not that enough? Is not such a sacrifice sufficient?" And then, protesting he would hear no more, he withdrew. On this Wehe and Peutinger, hoping to succeed better with the Doctor himself, seated themselves at his side. "Submit to the Diet," said they to him. "No," answered Luther, "for it is written, 'Cursed is he who trusteth in man.'" (Jeremiah xvii.) Wehe and Peutinger redoubled their exhortations and instances,—pressing the Reformer more and more closely;—Luther, worn out, arose, and made sign to them to retire, saying: "I will allow no man to exalt himself above God's word."†—"Think better of it," said they as they withdrew; "we will call on you again in the afternoon."

They came, according to appointment, but aware that Luther would not yield the point, they brought with them a new proposal. Luther has declined

* Er wollte ehe das Geleit aufsagen . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 589.)

† Er wollte kurtzrum Menschen über Gottes Wort nicht erkennen. (Ibid. p. 583.)

to acknowledge the Pope, the Emperor, and the Diet, there was yet an authority which he himself had formerly invoked; a General Council. Doubtless such a suggestion would call forth the anger of Rome, but it was a last plank. The delegates, therefore, proposed to Luther an appeal to a Council. He had only to accede to the offer without entering into points of detail. Years must elapse before the difficulties the Pope would interpose in the way of a Council could be removed. A gain of some years was everything to the Reformation and the Reformer. God, in the progress of events, would in that time bring about great changes. But Luther put *right* above all things; he had no desire to deliver himself at the expense of the Truth, even though a silent dissimulation of it should be all required of him. "I consent,—but," he answered, and the condition involved an appeal from the Council as judge,—"on condition that the Council should decide according to *Holy Scripture*."*

Peutinger and Wehe, who had no idea of a Council deciding otherwise, hastened overjoyed to the Archbishop. "Doctor Martin," said they, "will submit his writings to the judgment of a Council." The Archbishop was preparing to communicate the intelligence to the Emperor, when a doubt crossed his mind; he sent for Luther.

Richard von Greiffenklau was alone when the Doctor arrived. "Dear Doctor," said the Archbishop, with much kindness of manner,† "my doc-

* Das daruber aus der heiligen Schrifft gesprochen (L. Opp. (L.) xvii p. 584.)

† Ganz gut und mehr denn gnaedig. (L. Epp. i. p. 604.)

tors assure me that you consent to submit your cause without reserve to the decision of a Council."—"My Lord," answered Luther, "I can endure any thing except to abandon the *Holy Scripture*." The Archbishop saw at once that Wehe and Peutinger had not fully explained the facts. Never could Rome give her consent to a Council which should take Scripture alone for its guide. "It was requiring," says Pallavicini, "that one of weak sight should read very small writing, and at the same moment refusing him the use of glasses."* The good Archbishop sighed. "It was of little use," said he, "my sending for you. What would have been the consequence if I had gone direct to bear the message to the Emperor?"

The unshaken firmness and uprightness of Luther may well astonish us. They will, however, be comprehended and honoured by all who know the righteousness of God. Seldom has a nobler testimony been borne to the unchangeable word of the Lord at the peril of the liberty and life of the man who thus bore witness.

"Well, then," said the venerable Prelate addressing Luther, "let me hear your own remedy for the evil."

LUTHER was silent for an instant. "My lord, I know of none but what is found in that word of Gamaliel: 'if this work be of men, it will come to nought. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.'

* Simulque conspiciliorum omnium usum negare. (L. Epp. i. p. 110.)

Let the Emperor, the Electors, and the States of the Empire, return that answer to the Pope."

The Archbishop. "At least retract some articles."

Luther. "Provided they be not those which the Council of Constance has condemned."

The Archbishop. "Alas, I fear it is precisely those."

Luther. "Then far sooner take my life; rather would I be deprived of my limbs than give up the plain and sincere word of God."*

The Archbishop at length understood Luther. "Retire," said he, still in a tone of much mildness. "My lord," resumed Luther, "may I beg you to request his Majesty to send me the safe-conduct necessary for my return whence I came."—"I will attend to it," replied the worthy Archbishop,—and they parted.

Thus terminated these negociations. The attention of the whole Empire had been engaged by this man,† and its urgent entreaties and direful threats had not caused him to stumble. His erect bearing under the iron hand of the Pope was the means of emancipating the Church—and the commencement of a new era. The interposition of Providence was manifest. It was one of those grand scenes in history above which the majesty of God seems to rise and hover. Luther retired in company with Spalatin,

* Ehe Stumpf und Stiel fahren lassen . . . (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 584.)

† Totum imperium ad se conversum spectabat. (Pallavicini, i. p. 120.)

who had joined them during his conversation with the Archbishop. John von Minkwitz, counsellor of the Elector of Saxony, had been taken ill at Worms. The two friends visited him. Luther comforted the sick man in the tenderest manner. "Farewell;" said he, as he left the room, "to-morrow I leave Worms."

Luther was not mistaken. Scarcely three hours had elapsed from his return to his hotel, when the Chancellor Eck, attended by the Chancellor of the Empire, and a notary, presented themselves.

The Chancellor addressed him as follows:—"Martin Luther, His Imperial Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, having repeatedly and in various ways,—but in vain,—exhorted you to submission,—the Emperor, in his character of defender of the Catholic faith, finds himself compelled to resort to other measures. He therefore orders you to return to whence you came, within the space of twenty-one days, and prohibits you from disturbing the public peace on your journey, either by preaching or writing."

Luther was well aware that this message was the precursor of his condemnation. "It has happened unto me," answered he mildly, "according to the will of the Eternal. Blessed be His name!" He then proceeded,—"And first, I humbly, and from the bottom of my heart, thank his Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, that they have given me so gracious a hearing. I neither have, nor ever have had, a wish but for one thing: to wit, a reformation of the Church according to Holy Scripture. I am ready to do or to suffer all things

for obedience to the Emperor's will. Life or death, honour or dishonour, I will bear. I make but one reservation—the preaching of the Gospel; for, says St. Paul, the *Word of God* is not to be bound." The deputies retired.

On Friday morning, the 26th of April, the Reformer's friends and several nobles assembled at Luther's lodgings.* Men took delight in recognizing in the christian constancy he had opposed to Charles and to the Empire, the features of the celebrated character of antiquity:—

> Justum ac tenacem propositi virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium
> Non vultus instantis tyranni,
> Mente quatit solida . . . . †

All were eager once more, and perhaps for the last time, to say farewell to the intrepid monk. Luther partook of a simple repast. And now he must bid adieu to his friends, and depart far from them under a sky overhung with storms. He resolved to spend this solemn moment in the presence of God. He fortified his soul, and gave his blessing to those about him.‡ It was ten o'clock. Luther left the hotel, attended by the friends who had accompanied him to Worms. Twenty gentlemen on horseback surrounded the waggon. A crowd accompanied him outside the city. Sturm the Imperial herald, joined him shortly after at Oppenheim, and on the following day the party arrived in Frankfort.

* Salutatis patronis et amicis qui eum frequentissimi convenerunt . . . . (L. Opp. lat ii. p. 168.)

† Horat. Od. lib. 3.

‡ Seine Freunde gesegnet. (Mathesius, p. 27.)

Thus did Luther leave those walls which seemed destined to become his tomb. His heart overflowed with praise to God. "Satan himself," said he, "kept the Pope's citadel, but Christ has made a wide breach in it, and the devil has been compelled to confess that Christ is mightier than he."*

"The day of the Diet of Worms," says the devout Mathesius, the disciple and friend of Luther, "is one of the most glorious given to the earth before its great catastrophe."† The conflict at Worms resounded far and near, and as the report of it traversed Europe from the northern countries to the mountains of Switzerland, and the towns of England, France, and Italy, many seized with eagerness the mighty weapons of the word of God.

Arriving at Frankfort on the evening of Saturday the 27th of April, Luther, on the following morning, took advantage of a moment of leisure, the first he had enjoyed for a long time past, to despatch a short letter, replete at once with familiarity and energy, to his friend Lucas Cranach, the celebrated painter at Wittemberg: "My service to you, dear master Lucas," said he: "I expected his Majesty would assemble fifty learned doctors to convict the monk outright. But not at all. Are these books of your writing? Yes. Will you retract them? No! Well begone! There's the whole history. Deluded Germans. . . . how childishly we act!—how are we duped and defrauded by Rome!

* Aber Christus macht ein Loch derein. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 589.)

† Diss ist der herrlichen grossen Tag einer vorm Ende der Welt. (p. 28.)

Let the Jews sing their Yo! Yo! Yo! But a passover is coming for us also, and then will we sing Hallelujah!* We must keep silence and endure for a short time. 'A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me,' said Jesus Christ. I trust I may say the same. Farewell.—I commend you all to the Eternal. May He preserve in Christ your understanding and your faith, from the attacks of the wolves and dragons of Rome. Amen."

After writing this rather mysterious letter, Luther immediately set out for Friedberg, six leagues from Frankfort. Time, in fact, pressed. On the following morning he again collected his thoughts, and resolved once more to address Charles the Fifth. He was unwilling to appear in the light of a guilty rebel. In his letter he explained clearly the obedience the Christian owes to kings,—and that which is due to God,—and the point at which the former must give place to the latter. As we read Luther's letter, we are involuntarily reminded of the saying of the greatest autocrat of modern times: "*My* dominion ends where that of *conscience* commences."†

"God is my witness, who knoweth the thoughts," said Luther, "that I am ready with all my heart to obey your Majesty through good or evil report,

* Es müssen die Juden einmal singen Io, Io, Io! . . . . (L. Epp. i. p. 589.) The shouts of the Jews at the crucifixion are here taken to represent the triumphant songs of the partisans of Popery on the downfall of Luther; but the Reformer hears at a distance the hallelujahs of deliverance.

† Napoleon to the Protestant deputies after his accession to the Empire.

in life or in death, with no one exception, save the word of God, by which man liveth. In all the affairs of this life my fidelity shall be unshaken, for, in these, loss or gain has nothing to do with salvation. But it is contrary to the will of God, that man should be subject to man in that which pertains to eternal life. Subjection in *spirituals* is a real worship, and should be rendered only to the Creator."*

Luther also wrote in German a letter to the States. It was nearly to the same effect, and recapitulated what had taken place at Worms. This letter was several times transcribed and circulated throughout the Empire, exciting everywhere, says Cochlæus, the feelings of the people against the Emperor and the upper ranks of the clergy.†

Early the following morning Luther wrote a note to Spalatin, enclosing in it the two letters he had written on the previous evening. He sent back to Worms the herald Sturm, who had been gained to the cause of the Gospel. Embracing him, he parted from him, and set out in haste for Grunberg.

On the Tuesday, when he was within two leagues distance from Hirschfeld, he was met by the Chancellor to the Prince Abbot of the city, who had come out to welcome him. Soon after appeared a troop of horsemen, headed by the Abbot. The latter dismounted, Luther stepped from his waggon.

* Nam ea fides et submissio proprie est vera illa latria et adoratio Dei. . . . (L. Epp. i. p. 592.)

† Per chalcographos multiplicata et in populos dispersa est ea epistola . . . . Cæsari autem et clericis odium populare, &c. (Cochlæus, p. 38.)

The Prince and the Reformer embraced, and entered Hirschfeld together. The Senate received them at the gates.* Thus dignitaries of the Church opened their arms to a monk whom the Pope had anathematised, and the higher classes did honour to a man whom the Emperor had placed under ban of the empire.

"To-morrow morning, at five o'clock, we shall be at church," said the Prince, rising from a repast to which he had invited the Reformer. He insisted on his occupying his own apartment. The following day Luther preached, and the Prince Abbot and his suite attended the sermon.

In the evening of that day Luther reached Eisenach, the scene of his childhood. All his acquaintance in the place came round him, and entreated him to preach: and the following day they escorted him to church. Upon this the curate appeared, attended by a notary and witnesses. He stepped forward, trembling between fear of losing his appointment and of opposing the energetic man before him. "I must *protest*," said he at last, with embarrassment, "against the liberty you are about to take." Luther ascended the pulpit, and a voice, which, three-and-twenty years before, had sung in the streets of that same town for a morsel of bread, proclaimed through the vaulted roofs of its venerable church the word which was beginning to agitate the world. The sermon being over, the curate stepped up to Luther. He held in his hand the record drawn up by the notary, and regularly witnessed, to protect the curate from dismissal. "I ask your

* Senatus intra portas nos excepit. (L. Epp. ii. p. 6.)

pardon," said he, humbly; "I take this course from fear of the tyrants that oppress the Church."*

And truly there was ground for apprehension. Affairs at Worms had changed their aspect, and Aleander reigned paramount. "The only prospect for Luther is banishment," wrote Frederic to his brother, Duke John, "nothing can save him. If God permits me to see you again, I shall have strange things to tell you. Not only Annas and Caiaphas, but Pilate and Herod have conspired against him." Frederic had no desire to prolong his stay, and accordingly quitted Worms, as did the Elector Palatine. The Elector Archbishop of Cologne also took his departure from the Diet, and the inferior Princes followed the example. Deeming it impossible to avert the blow, they preferred, perhaps unwisely, to quit the place. The Spaniards, Italians, and the most *ultra-montane* of the German Princes alone remained.

Thus Aleander was master of the field. He presented to Charles a rough draft of an edict, intended to serve as a model for that the Diet was about to publish against the monk. The production of the Nuncio pleased the incensed Emperor. He assembled the members of the Diet still at Worms in his council chamber, and read to them Aleander's paper which, as Pallavicini informs us, was approved by all present.

On the following day, which was a public festival, the Emperor repaired to the cathedral, attended by the nobles of his court. The service being gone

* Humiliter tamen excusante . . . ob metum tyrannorum suorum. (L. Epp. ii. p. 6.)

through, a crowd of persons thronged the interior, when Aleander, clothed in the insignia of his order, approached Charles.* He held in his hand two copies of the edict against Luther, one in Latin, the other in German, and kneeling before his Imperial Majesty, he petitioned Charles to affix to it his signature and the seal of the Empire. It was at the moment when sacrifice had just been offered, when the incense filled the temple, and the hymn was reverberating in the vaulted roofs, and, as it were, in the immediate presence of God, that the seal was to be set to the destruction of the enemy of Rome. The Emperor, in the most gracious manner,† took a pen, and attached his signature to the edict. Aleander withdrew in triumph, and instantly sent the decree to the printer, and thence to every part of Christendom.‡ This result of Roman diplomacy had cost no small pains to the Papacy. We learn from Pallavicini himself that the edict, though dated the 8th of May, was written and signed some days later, but antedated, in order that it might appear sanctioned by the presence of the whole Diet.

"We, Charles the Fifth, &c." said the Emperor, "to the Electors, Princes, Prelates, and all to whom these presents shall come.

"The Almighty having confided to us for the defence of our holy faith more extensive dominion and rule than He hath given to any of our prede-

* Cum Cæsar in templo adesset . . . processit illi obviam Aleander. (Pallavicini, i. p. 122.)

† Festivissimo vultu. (Ibid.)

‡ Et undique pervulgata. (Ibid.)

cessors, we purpose to employ all our powers to preserve our holy empire from being polluted by any heresy.

"The Augustine monk, Martin Luther, regardless of our exhortations, has madly attacked the holy Church, and attempted to destroy it by writings full of blasphemy. He has shamefully vilified the unalterable law of holy marriage; he has laboured to incite the laity to imbrue their hands in the blood of their priests;* and, defying all authority has incessantly excited the people to revolt, schism, war, murder, theft, incendiarism, and the utter destruction of the Christian faith . . . In a word, and passing over many other evil intentions, this being, who is no man, but Satan himself under the semblance of a man in a monk's hood,† has collected, in one offensive mass, all the worst heresies of former ages, adding his own to the number.

"We have therefore dismissed from our presence this Luther, whom all reasonable men count a madman, or possessed by the devil; and it is our intention that so soon as the term of his safe-conduct is expired, effectual measures be forthwith taken to put a stop to his fury.

"For this end, and on pain of incurring the penalty of treason, we hereby forbid you to receive the said Luther from the moment when the said term is expired, or to harbour or to give him meat or drink, or by word or act, publicly or in private, to

* Ihre Hände in der Priester Blut zu waschen. (L. Opp. (L.) xvii. p. 598.)

† Nicht ein Mensch, sondern als der böse Feind in Gestalt eines Menschen mit angenommener Mönchshütten . . . (Ibid.)

aid or abet him. We further enjoin you to seize, or cause him to be seized, wherever he may be, and to bring him before us without delay, or hold him in durance until you shall be informed how to deal with him, and have received the reward due to your co-operation in this holy work.

"As to his adherents, you are enjoined to seize upon them, putting them down and confiscating their property.

"Touching his writings—seeing that the best of food is held in horror by all men when the least poison is mixed therewith, how much more should such writings, wherein the main object is a mortal venom, be not merely rejected, but destroyed? You will, therefore, burn or in other ways utterly destroy them.

"As to the authors, poets, printers, painters, venders, or purchasers, of caricatures or placards against the Pope or the Church, you are enjoined to seize on their persons and property, and deal with them as may seem fit.

"And if any one, whatever may be his rank, should dare to act contrary to this decree of our Imperial Majesty, we command that he be placed under ban of the Empire.

"Let each one observe this decree."

Such was the edict signed in the cathedral of Worms. It was more than a Roman bull, which though issued in Italy might not be carried into execution in Germany. The Emperor himself had spoken, and the Diet had ratified the decree. The whole body of Romanists shouted for joy. "The tragedy is over," exclaimed they. "For my part,"

said Alphonso Valdez, a Spaniard of Charles's court, "I am persuaded it is not the last act, but the beginning."* Valdez clearly perceived that the movement was *in* the Church, the people, the age,—and that were Luther to fall, his cause would not perish with him. But none could help seeing the imminent and inevitable danger in which the Reformer was placed, and the superstitious multitude were impressed by a feeling of horror at the thought of that incarnate Satan whom the Emperor pointed to as clothed with a monk's habit.

The man against whom the mighty ones of this earth were thus forging their thunderbolts,—on leaving the pulpit of Eisenach, endeavoured to muster resolution to take leave of some of his dearest friends. He decided not to take the road to Gotha and Erfurth, but to proceed by way of the village of Mora, the birth-place of his father, in order once more to see his grandmother (who died four months afterwards), and to visit his uncle, Henry Luther, and some other relations. Schurff, Jonas, and Suaven set out for Wittemberg; Luther entered his waggon, accompanied by Amsdorff, and plunged into the forest of Thuringen.†

That same evening he arrived in the village of his fathers. The aged peasant pressed to her heart that grandson who had dared to confront the Emperor and the Pope. Luther passed the following day with his relations, joyfully contrasting its sweet tranquillity with the turmoil of Worms. The next day he again set out in company with Amsdorff and

* Non finem sed initium. (P. Martyris Epp. p. 412.)

† Ad carnem meam trans sylvam profectus. (L. Epp. ii. p. 7.)

his brother James. It was in these secluded spots that the Reformer's fate was on the point of being decided. They skirted the woods of Thuringen, taking the path that leads to Waltershausen. As the waggon was passing a narrow defile near the ruined church of Glisbach, a short distance from the castle of Altenstein, suddenly a noise was heard, and in a moment, five horsemen, masked and armed from head to foot, fell upon them. His brother James, as soon as he caught sight of the assailants, jumped from the waggon, and fled as fast as he could without uttering a word. The driver would have resisted. "Stop," cried a hoarse voice, and instantly one of the attacking party threw him to the earth.* Another of the masks grasped Amsdorff, and held him fast. While this was doing, the three horsemen laid hold on Luther, maintaining profound silence. They forced him to alight, and throwing a knight's cloak over his shoulders, set him on a led horse that they had with them. This done, the two other masks let go Amsdorff and the waggóner, and the whole five sprang into their saddles. One dropped his cap, but they did not stop to recover it; and in the twinkling of an eye, the party and their prisoner were lost in the thick gloom of the forest. At first they took the direction of Broderode; but they rapidly changed their route, and without quitting the forest, rode first in one direction and then in another, turning their horses' feet to baffle any attempt to track their course. Luther, little used to riding, was soon overcome with fatigue.†

* Dejectoque in solum auriga et verberato. (Pallav. i. p. 122.)

† Longo itinere, novus eques, fessus. (L. Epp. ii. p. 3.)

His guides permitted him to stop for a few instants. He rested on the earth beside a beech tree, and drank some water from a spring, which still bears his name. His brother James, continuing his flight from the scene of the rencounter, reached Waltershausen that evening. The driver, hastily throwing himself into the waggon, in which Amsdorff had already mounted, galloped his horse at full speed, and conducted Luther's friend to Wittemberg. At Waltershausen, at Wittemberg, in the open country, the villages and towns on the route, the news spread that Luther was carried off. Some rejoiced at the report, but the greater number were struck with astonishment and indignation,—and soon a cry of grief resounded throughout Germany — "Luther has fallen into the hands of his enemies!"

After the stirring conflict that Luther had been called to sustain, it had pleased God that he should be transferred to a place of repose and peace. After raising him on the dazzling stage of Worms, where all the energies of the Reformer's soul had been roused to their highest pitch, God had prepared for him the obscure and lowly refuge of a prison. He draws from the deepest obscurity the frail instruments by which He designs to bring mighty things to pass; and then when He has suffered them to shine for a while on an illumined stage, He dismisses them again to obscurity. The Reformation was to be brought about by other steps than violent struggles or public tribunals. Not thus does the leaven penetrate the body of the people:—the Spirit of God seeks stiller channels. The man whom the champions of Rome were pitilessly persecuting, was to disappear for a

time from the world. It was needful that his personal greatness should be hidden in shade, that the revolution then accomplishing might not bear the impress of one man. It was fit that the man should be put aside that God alone might remain, to move by his Spirit over the abyss, wherein the darkness of the middle ages was sinking, and to say, "Let there be light!" in order that there might be light.

The shades of evening closing in, and no one being now able to observe their track, Luther's escort changed their route. It was nearly eleven o'clock at night when they arrived at the foot of a hill.* The horses slowly climbed the steep ascent. On the summit stood an ancient fortress, on every side but that by which they approached it, surrounded by the black forests which clothe the mountains of Thuringen.

It was to the lofty and isolated castle of *Wartburg*, where the ancient Landgraves in earlier times had fixed their retreat, that Luther was thus led. The bolts were drawn back, the iron bars fell, the gates unclosed, the Reformer passed the threshold, and the doors were closed upon him. He dismounted in an inner court. One of the horsemen, Burkard von Hund, lord of Altenstein, then left him. Another, John von Berlepsch, provost of Wartburg, conducted him to his apartment, where he found a knight's garment and sword. The three others followed, and took away his ecclesiastical habit, attiring him in the knightly dress prepared

* Hora ferme undecimâ ad mansionem noctis perveni in tenebris. (L. Epp. ii. p. 3.)

for him, and enjoining him to let his beard and hair grow,* that no one in the castle might know who he was. The attendants of the castle of Wartburg were to know the prisoner only by the name of knight George. Luther scarcely recognized himself under his singular metamorphosis.† Left at length to his meditations, he had leisure to revolve the extraordinary events that had befallen him at Worms, the uncertain future that awaited him, and his new and strange abode. From the narrow windows of his turret, his eye discovered the dark untrodden and boundless forest which surrounded him. "It was there," says Mathesius, his friend and biographer, "that Luther was shut in, like St. Paul in his prison at Rome."

Frederic von Thun, Philip Feilitsch, and Spalatin, in a confidential conversation with Luther, by order of the Elector, had not disguised from him that his liberty would be sacrificed to the anger of Charles, and of the Pope.‡ Yet this forced abduction was so involved in mystery, that Frederic himself was for a long time ignorant of the place where Luther was concealed. The grief of those who were favourable to the Reformation continued. Spring passed away; summer, autumn, winter, succeeded; —the sun had run its annual course, and the walls of the Wartburg still held their prisoner. Truth had been placed under interdict by the German Diet; and its defender, immured in a fortress, was

* Exutus vestibus meis et equestribus indutus, comam et barbam nutriens . . . (L. Epp. ii. p. 7.)

† Cum ipse me jamdudum non noverim. (Ibid.)

‡ Seckendorf, p. 365.

no longer on the stage of events; and even the fate that had overtaken him was unknown. Aleander was all confidence, and the Reformation appeared lost . . . but God reigns! and the blow which seemed to bring to nothing the cause of the Gospel, will but serve to rescue its undaunted servant, and diffuse far and wide the radiance of faith.

Let us leave Luther a captive in Germany, on the heights of the Wartburg, and let us see what God was then bringing to pass in other countries of Christendom.

BOOK VIII.

THE SWISS.

1484—1522.

At the period when the decree of the Diet of Worms was announced, a steadily progressive movement was beginning to manifest itself in the quiet valleys of Switzerland. To the voices which were raised in the plains of Upper and Lower Saxony, responded from the mountains of Switzerland the bold voices of its priests and herdsmen, or of the inhabitants of its martial cities. The partisans of Rome, in their sudden alarm, exclaimed aloud that a vast and formidable conspiracy was every where forming against the Church. The friends of the Gospel joyfully replied, that as in spring-time the breath of life is felt from the sea-shore to the mountain top, so the Spirit of God was now melting the ice of a long winter in every part of Christendom, and clothing with verdure and flowers the most secluded valleys, and the most steep and barren rocks. Germany did not communicate the light of truth to Switzerland,—Switzerland to France,—France to England: all these lands received it from God; just as no one region transmits the light to another, but the same orb of splendour dispenses it direct to the earth. Raised far above men, Christ, the Day-

Star from on high, was, at the period of the Reformation, as at the first introduction of the Gospel, the Divine source whence came the life of the world. One and the same doctrine suddenly established itself in the 16th century, at the domestic hearths, and in the places of worship, of nations the most distant and dissimilar. It was because the same Spirit was every where present, producing the same faith.

The Reformation in Germany and that in Switzerland demonstrate this truth. Zwingle did not communicate with Luther. Doubtless there was a bond of union between both these men; but we must seek it above this earth. He who gave the truth from heaven to Luther, gave it to Zwingle. Their communion was *in God*. "I began," said Zwingle, "to preach the Gospel in the year of grace 1516—that is, at a time when the name of Luther had never been heard among these countries. It was not from Luther that I learned the doctrine of Christ,—it was from God's word. If Luther preached Christ, he does as I do: that is all."*

But whilst the several Reformations derived from the same Spirit a comprehensive unity,—they also bore various peculiar features derived from the different populations in the midst of which they were wrought.

* . . . . 1516, eo scilicet tempore, quum Lutheri nomen in nostris regionibus inauditum adhuc erat . . . . doctrinam Christi non a Luthero, sed ex verbo Dei didici. (Zwinglii Opera, curant. Schulero et Schultessio, Turici, 1829, vol. i. p. 273. 276.)

We have already slightly sketched the state of Switzerland at the period of the Reformation. We will add but a few words. In Germany the principle of monarchy prevailed. In Switzerland the democratic principle prevailed. In Germany the Reformation had to struggle against the authority of princes,—in Switzerland against the will of the people. A popular assembly, more readily swayed than a single individual, is more hasty in its decisions. The victory over Papal rule, which beyond the Rhine had cost years, required, on the Swiss bank, but a few months or even days.

In Germany the person of Luther rises majestically amid the Saxon population; he seems almost alone in his attacks on the Roman Colossus; and wherever the battle rages we distinguish his lofty figure on the field of conflict. Luther is, as it were, the monarch of the change which is effected.—In Switzerland the contest is begun, at one and the same time, in several cantons;—there is a confederation of Reformers;—their very number surprises us. Doubtless one head is seen above the rest,—but no one commands;—it is a republican magistracy, to which all come, bearing the peculiar features of their origin. We have Wittembach, Zwingle, Capito, Heller, Œcolampadius, Oswald Myconius, Leo Juda, Farell, Calvin;—it is at Glaris, at Bale, at Zurich, at Berne, at Neufchatel, at Geneva, at Lucerne, at Schaffhausen, at Appenzel, at Saint Gall, and in the country of the Grisons. In the German Reformation but one stage is seen, and that uniform and level, like the face of the land; but in Switzerland the Reformation appears broken, like

the country itself, by its thousand hills. Every valley has its own hour of awakening, and every mountain top its own radiance.

A calamitous period had ensued to the Swiss people since their exploits against the Dukes of Burgundy. Europe having learned the strength of their arms, had drawn them from their fastnesses, and deprived them of their independence, by making them arbiters in the field of battle of the fortunes of her states. The hand of the Swiss peasant turned a sword against the breast of his countryman in the plains of Italy and France, while foreign intrigues were spreading discord and envy in those Alpine meadows, so long the abode of simplicity and peace. Tempted by golden bribes, sons, workmen, and servants, quitted by stealth the *chalets* of the mountain pastures to tread the banks of the Rhone or of the Po. Swiss unity had yielded to the gradual progress of mules laden with gold. The Reformation,—for in Switzerland the Reformation had its political aspect,—proposed to re-establish the unity and primitive virtue of the cantons. Its first call was, that the people should tear in pieces the nets of foreign lures, and with one heart embrace each other at the foot of the Cross. But its generous desire was unheeded; Rome, long used to recruit in the Swiss valleys the blood she lavished in the strife for power, arose indignantly. She excited the Swiss against their own countrymen; and passions, till then unknown, lacerated the bosom of the nation.

Switzerland stood in need of a reformation. The Swiss were, it is true, remarkable for a simplicity

and credulity which were subjects of ridicule to the cunning Italians; but they were also considered to be of all nations the most stained by incontinency. Astrologers ascribed this to the constellations,*—philosophers to the temperament of these indomitable people,—moralists to the principles of the Swiss, who counted deceit, unkindness, and calumny, sins of deeper dye than unchastity.† Marriage was forbidden to the priests; but it would have been difficult to find one who lived in true celibacy. Often they were enjoined to behave themselves not chastely—but prudently. This was one of the first disorders which the Reformation opposed. It is time to take a view of the glimmerings of the new light that was dawning in the Alps.

Toward the middle of the eleventh century, two pilgrims penetrated from St. Gall, in the direction of the mountains southward of that ancient monastery, and reached an uninhabited valley ten leagues in extent.‡ This valley is, on the north, separated from the canton of Appenzel by the lofty mountains of the Sentis, the Sommerigkopf, and the Old Man. Southward the Kuhfirsten, with its seven peaks, rises between it and the Wallenses, Sargans, and the Grisons. Towards the east, the valley lies open to the rays of the rising sun, displaying in the distance the magnificent prospect of the Tyrolese Alps. The two pilgrims, arriving at the source of a small stream, the Thur, erected there two cells.

* Wirz, Helvetische Kirchen Geschichte, iii. p. 201.

† Sodomitis melius erit in die judicii, quam rerum vel honoris ablatoribus. (Hemmerlin, de anno jubilæo.)

‡ Tockenburg.

By slow degrees thinly-scattered habitations appeared; and on the most elevated site, 2010 feet above the lake of Zurich, there arose around a little church a village called *Wildhaus*, or the *Wild-house*, on which now depend two hamlets, Lisighaus, or Elizabeth's house, and Shonenboden. On those elevated spots the earth does not yield its fruits. A green sward of Alpine freshness clothes the whole valley, ascending the sides of mountains, above which enormous rocks rise in savage grandeur towards heaven.

A quarter of a league from the church, near Lisighaus, beside a footway leading to the pastures beyond the river, there still stands a solitary house. Tradition informs us that the wood required for the building was felled on the very spot it occupies.* It has every appearance of remote antiquity. The walls are thin,—the windows are composed of small round panes,—the roof is formed of shingles, loaded with stones to prevent the wind carrying them away. In front gushes a limpid stream.

There lived in this house towards the close of the fifteenth century a man named Zwingle, amman or bailiff of the village. The family of Zwingle or Zwingli was ancient, and in great esteem among the dwellers on these mountains.† Bartholomew, the bailiff's brother, first curate of the parish, and

* Schuler's, Zwingli's Bildungs Gesch. p. 290.

† Diss Geschlächt der Zwinglinen, wass in guter Achtung diesser Landen, als ein gut alt ehrlich Geschlächt. (H. Bullinger Hist. Beschreibung der Eidg. Geschichten.) This precious work exists only in manuscript. I am indebted for the communication of it to the kindness of M. J. G. Hess. The orthography of the manuscript is preserved. It is now in course of publication.

in 1487 dean of Wesen, enjoyed a sort of reputation in the district.* The wife of the amman of Wildhaus, Margaret Meili, whose brother John was afterwards abbot of the convent of Fischingen in Thurgovia, had already borne him two sons, Henry and Klaus, when on new year's day, 1484, just seven weeks from the birth of Luther, a third son, who was afterwards named Ulric, saw the light in this solitary chalet.† Five other sons, John, Wolfgang, Bartholomew, James, and Andrew, and one daughter, added to the strength of this Alpine family. Not a man in the neighbouring country was more respected than the bailiff Zwingle.‡ His character, his office, and his numerous progeny, made him the patriarch of these hills. He, as well as his sons, led a shepherd life. Soon as the early days of May arrived to cheer the mountains, the father and his sons set out with their flocks for the pastures; ascending as the season advanced, from station to station, and attaining the loftiest summits of the Alps towards the end of July. Then they began again to descend gradually toward the valley, and in this way the people of Wildhaus were accustomed to return in autumn to their lowly cottages. Frequently in summer the young folks, who had been left behind in their habitations, eager to breathe the pure air of the mountains, set out in

* Ein Verrumbter Mann. (Ibid.)

† "Quadragesimum octavum agimus." Zwingle to Vadian, 17th Sept. 1531.

‡ Clarus fuit pater ob spectatam vitæ sanctimoniam. (Oswald Myconius Vita Zwinglii.)

parties for the chalets, accompanying with their songs the sound of their rustic music; for all were musical. As they arrived on the Alps, the shepherds saluted them from afar with their horns and songs, and hastened to regale them with a repast of milk; after which the merry company, by many a winding path, descended again into the valley to the sound of their pipes. Ulric, doubtless, sometimes shared these delights in early youth. He grew up at the foot of those rocks which seemed everlasting, and whose peaks pointed to the skies. "I have often thought," said one of his friends, "that being brought near to heaven on these sublime heights, he contracted a something heavenly and divine."*

Many were the long winter evenings in the cottages of Wildhaus. At such seasons young Ulric listened at his paternal hearth to the conversations of the bailiff and the elderly men of the village. When they recounted how the people of the valley had formerly groaned under a cruel yoke, his heart responded to the old men's joy at the thoughts of the independence achieved by Tockenburg, and secured to it by its alliance with the Swiss. The love of his country was kindled, and Switzerland became endeared to his heart. If a word were uttered against the confederated cantons, the child would immediately rise, and with simple earnestness undertake their defence.† Often, too, would he sit quietly at the knee of his pious grand-

* Divinitatis nonnihil cœlo propriorem contraxisse. (Osw. Myc.)

† Schulers Zw. Bildung. p. 291.

mother, listening with fixed attention to her Bible stories and superstitious legends, and eagerly receiving them into his heart.

The good bailiff took delight in observing the promising disposition of his son. He thought he saw that Ulric might be fit for something better than tending his herds on Mont Sentis, and singing the Ranz des Bergers. One day he took him in his hand and directed his steps towards Wesen. He crossed the grassy summits of the Ammon, avoiding the wild and bold rocks which border the lake of Wallenstadt; and arriving at the village, entered the dwelling of the dean, his brother, and gave into his care the young mountaineer, to be examined as to his capacities.* The dean, in a short time, loved his nephew as if he were his own son. Delighted with the quickness of his understanding, he confided the task of his instruction to a schoolmaster, who soon taught him all he himself knew. When he was ten years old, Ulric already evinced marks of superior intelligence,† and his father and uncle decided on sending him to Bale.

When this child of the mountains of Tockenburg arrived in that celebrated city, a new world seemed to open before him. The fame of the celebrated Council of Bale,—its university founded by Pius II. in 1460,—its printing presses, which recalled to life the great writers of antiquity, and disseminated through the world the first fruits of the revival of

* Tenerimum adhuc ad fratrem sacrificum adduxit, ut ingenii ejus periculum faceret. (Melch. Ad. Zw. p. 25.)

† Und in Ihm erschinen merkliche Zeichen eines edlen Gemuths. (Bullingers MS.)

learning,—and the circumstance of its being the abode chosen by such eminent men as the Wessels and Wittembachs, and, above all, by Erasmus, made Bale at the period of the Reformation one of the great *foci* of illumination in the West.

Ulric was placed in St. Theodore's school, at that time presided over by Gregory Binzli, a man of affectionate character, and of a gentleness at that period rarely found in schoolmasters. Young Zwingle made rapid progress. Learned discussions, much in vogue in that age among the doctors of universities, had descended even to the children of the school. Ulric took part in them, disciplining his nascent strength against the pupils of other establishments, and invariably coming off victorious from these contests, which were as the preludes of those which were to overthrow the Papal authority in Switzerland.* Such early successes roused the jealousy of his senior rivals. Ere long he outgrew the school of Bale, as he had outgrown that of Wesen.

Lupulus, a distinguished scholar, had shortly before opened at Berne, the first learned foundation of Switzerland. The bailiff of Wildhaus, and the curate of Wesen, agreed together to send the youth there, and in 1497, Zwingle, leaving the smiling plains of Bale, again approached those upper Alps among which he had passed his infancy, and whose snowy summits glowing in the sun might be discerned from Berne. Lupulus, a distinguished poet, introduced his pupil to the hidden treasures of classical

* In disputationibus, quæ pro more tum erant inter pueros usitatæ victoriam semper reportavit. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

learning,* then known only, and but slightly to a few. The young neophyte was delighted to breathe these perfumes of antiquity. His mind opened, his style took its form, and himself became a poet.

Among the convents of Berne, that of the Dominicans was most celebrated. A grave controversy existed between these monks and the Franciscans. The latter maintained the immaculate conception of the Virgin, which the former denied. Wherever they went,—at the splendid altar that adorned their church,—and from the twelve columns which supported its roof, the Dominicans thought of nothing but to humble their rivals. The well-toned voice of Zwingle had drawn their notice; they listened to the accounts brought them of his precocious understanding; and thinking he might do credit to their order, sought to attract him amongst them,† and invited him to take up his residence in the convent, until the period when he might pass his noviciate. The future usefulness of Zwingle was at stake. The *amman* of Wildhaus, on learning the baits the Dominicans held out, trembled for the innocence of his son, and desired him to leave Berne without delay. Thus Zwingle escaped those monastic walls in which Luther had voluntarily immured himself. What afterwards ensued will shew the greatness of the danger Zwingle then incurred.

A great agitation reigned in Berne in 1507. A

* Ab eo in adyta classicorum scriptorum introductus. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

† Und alss er wol singen köndt lokten Ihn die prediger Mönchen in dass Kloster. (Bullinger, MSC.)

young man of Zurzack, named John Jetzer, having one day presented himself at the convent of the Dominicans, had been repulsed. The poor youth, grieving at his rejection, had returned to the charge, holding out 53 florins and some silk stuffs. "It is all I have in the world," said he, "take it, and receive me into your order." He was admitted on the 6th of January as a lay brother. But on the very first night a strange noise in his cell filled him with terror. He fled to the convent of Carthusians, but they sent him back to the Dominicans.

The following night, being the eve of the festival of St. Matthias, he was awakened by deep sighs. Opening his eyes he beheld by his bedside a tall phantom clothed in white :—"I am a soul from the fires of purgatory," said a sepulchral voice. The lay brother answered shuddering, "May God deliver you! I can do nothing." On this the spirit drew nigh, and seizing him by the throat, reproached him with his refusal. The terrified Jetzer cried aloud,—"What can I do for your deliverance?"—"You must scourge yourself to blood during eight days, and lie prostrate on the earth in the chapel of St. John." This said, the apparition vanished. The lay brother confided what he had seen to his confessor, the convent preacher, and by his advice submitted to the discipline enjoined him. It was soon reported throughout the town that a departed soul had applied to the Dominicans for its deliverance out of purgatory. The multitude deserted the Franciscans, and every one hastened to the church where the holy man was seen stretched prostrate on the earth. The soul of the sufferer had an-

nounced that it would return in eight days. On the appointed night it re-appeared, accompanied by two spirits tormenting it, and howling fearfully:—"*Scot*," said the voice,—"Scot, the forger of the Franciscans' doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin is among those who suffer with me these horrible torments." At this report, which soon circulated in Berne, the partisans of the Franciscans were still more appalled. But the soul had announced that the Virgin herself would make her appearance. Accordingly, on the day named, the astonished brother beheld Mary appear in his cell. He could not believe his eyes. She approached him kindly, delivered to him three tears of Jesus, three drops of his blood, a crucifix, and a letter addressed to Pope Julius II. "He is," said she, "the man whom God has chosen to abolish the festival of the immaculate conception." Then coming close to the bed in which the brother lay, she announced in a solemn tone that a distinguished grace was about to be conferred on him,—and he felt his hand pierced with a nail!—but Mary wrapped round the wound a linen cloth, worn (she said) by her son during the flight into Egypt. But this was not enough;—that the glory of the Dominicans might equal that of the Franciscans, Jetzer was to have the *five wounds* of Christ and of St. Francis in his hands, feet, and side. The other four were inflicted,—a sleeping potion was administered, and he was placed in an apartment hung with tapestry, representing the events of the Passion. Here he passed days, his imagination becoming inflamed. Then the doors were from time to time

thrown open to the people, who came in crowds to gaze on the brother with the five wounds, extending his arms, with his head reclined, and imitating in his posture the crucifixion of our Lord. At intervals, losing consciousness, he foamed at the mouth, and seemed to give up the ghost. "He is suffering the cross of Christ," whispered those who stood round him. The multitude, eager for wonders, incessantly thronged the convent. Men worthy of high esteem,—even Lupulus, the master of Zwingle,—were awe-struck; and the Dominicans from their pulpits, extolled the glory with which God had covered their order.

For some years that order had felt a necessity for humbling the Franciscans, and adding by the claim of miracles to the devotion and liberality of the people. Berne, with its "simple, rustic, and ignorant population," (adopting the description of it given by the sub-prior of Berne to the chapter held at Wempfen on the Necker) had been chosen for the scene of these wonders. The prior, the sub-prior, the preacher, and the purveyor of the convent had taken upon them the chief parts; but they could not play them throughout. Favoured with another vision of Mary, Jetzer thought he recognized the voice of his confessor, and having given utterance to his suspicion, Mary vanished. Soon after she again appeared to upbraid him with his incredulity. "This time it is the prior!" cried Jetzer, throwing himself forward with a knife in his hand. The saint hurled a pewter plate at the head of the brother, and again disappeared.

In consternation at the discovery which Jetzer

had made, the Dominicans sought to rid themselves of him by poison. He detected the artifice, and fleeing from the convent, divulged their imposture. They put a good face upon the matter, and despatched deputies to Rome. The Pope commissioned his legate in Switzerland, together with the Bishops of Lausanne and Sion, to investigate the affair. The four Dominicans were convicted, and condemned to be burnt alive, and on the 1st of May, 1509, they perished in the flames, in presence of more than 30,000 spectators. This event made a great noise throughout Europe, and by revealing one great plague of the Church, was instrumental in preparing the way of the Reformation.*

Such were the men from whose hands young Ulric Zwingle escaped. He had studied letters at Berne,—he was now to apply himself to philosophy; and for this purpose he repaired to Vienna in Austria. Joachim Vadian, a young native of St. Gall, whose genius seemed to give promise of a distinguished statesman to Switzerland;—Henri Loreti, of the canton of Glaris, commonly called Glarianus, and who shewed considerable talent for poetry;—a young Suabian, John Heigerlin, son of a smith, and on that account called Faber, of supple character, fond of distinction, and manifesting the qualities of a courtier:—such were the companions of Ulric's studies and amusements in the Austrian capital.

In 1502 Zwingle returned to Wildhaus: while

* Wirz, Helvetische Kirchen, Gesch. vol iii. p. 387. Anshelms Cronik, iii. and iv. No event of that age gave occasion to more publications. See Haller's Biblioth. der Schw. Gech. iii.

he gazed on its mountains, he felt that he had tasted of the sweets of learning, and was no longer able to live amid his brethren's songs, and the bleatings of their flocks. He was eighteen: he went to Bale* to renew his application to study; and there at one and the same time master and student, he taught in the school of St. Martin, and pursued his studies at the university: he could now dispense with his father's succours. Shortly after he took the degree of Master of Arts. A native of Alsace, named Capito, who was nine years older than himself, was one of his dearest friends.

Zwingle devoted himself to the study of scholastic theology,—for, called as he was at a later period to combat its sophisms, it was necessary he should explore its tangled labyrinths. But often the joyous student of the mountains of the Sentis was seen suddenly to shake off the dust of the schools, and exchanging his philosophic toils for amusement, take the lute, harp, violin, flute, dulcimer, or hunting-horn, and pour forth gladsome sounds as in the meadows of Lisighaus, making his apartment, or the houses of his friends echo with the airs of his beloved country, and accompanying them with his own songs. In his love of music he was a true son of Tockenburg, a master among many.† He played the instruments we have named, and others besides.

* Ne diutius ab exercitio literarum cessaret. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

† Ich habe auch nie von Keinem gehört, der in der Kunst Musica . . . so erfahren gewesen. (B. Weysen, Füsslin Beytrage zur Ref. Gesch. iv. 35.)

Enthusiastically attached to the art, he diffused a taste for it through the university, not that he relished dissipation, but because he loved relaxation from the fatigue of graver studies, and its power of restoring him with fresh strength for close application.* There was no one more cheerful or more amiable, or whose discourse had more charms.† He might have been compared to a vigorous alpine-tree, expanding in all its grace and strength, not yet pruned, and sending forth its strong boughs on every side. The moment was destined to arrive, when these branches would shoot upward with new vigour toward heaven.

Having made his way into scholastic theology, he returned weary and disgusted from these arid sands, having found nothing but confused ideas,—a vain babble, emptiness, and barbarism, without any sound idea of doctrine. "It is mere lost time," said he,—and he waited to know more.

Just at that crisis (November, 1505) arrived in Bale, Thomas Wittembach, son of a burgomaster of Bienne. Wittembach had previously been teaching at Tubingen at the same time with Reuchlin. He was in the prime of life, sincere, pious, versed in the liberal sciences, in mathematics, and in the Holy Scriptures. Zwingle and all the young students immediately gathered round him. An energy hitherto unknown breathed in his discourses, and prophetic words proceeded from his lips. "The

* Ut ingenium seriis defatigatum recrearetur et paratius ad solita studia redderetur . . . (Melch. Ad. Vit. Zw.)

† Ingenio amœnus, et ore jucundus, supra quam dici possit, erat. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

time is not far distant," said he, "when the scholastic theology will be abolished, and the primitive teaching of the Church restored." "The death of Christ," added he, "is the only ransom of our souls."† The heart of Zwingle eagerly received those seeds of life.‡

Among the students who constantly attended the lectures of the youthful Doctor, was a young man of twenty-three years of age, of small stature, and weak and unhealthy appearance, but whose look bespoke at once gentleness and intrepidity. It was Leo Juda, son of a curate of Alsace, and whose uncle had lost his life at Rhodes, under the standard of its knights, for the defence of Christendom. Leo and Ulric lived in the closest intimacy. Leo played the dulcimer, and had a very fine voice. Often in his apartment the two friends of the arts amused themselves in joyous song. Leo Juda became subsequently Zwingle's colleague, and death itself could not terminate this sacred friendship.

The situation of pastor of Glaris became vacant at this period. Henry Goldi, a young courtier in the Pope's service, groom of his Holiness's palfrey, and already endowed with several benefices, hastened to Glaris with the Pope's letter of appointment. But the shepherds of Glaris, proud of the antique glories of their race, and of their struggles for

* Et doctrinam Ecclesiæ veterem . . . instaurari oporteat. (Gualterus, Misc. Tig. iii. 102.)

† Der Tod Christi sey die einige Bezahlung für unsere Sünde. . . . (Fuslin Beyr. ii. p. 268.)

‡ Quum a tanto viro semina quædam . . . Zwingliano pectori injecta essent. (Leo Jud. in Præf. ad. Ann. Zw. in N. T.)

liberty, were unwilling to bow their heads before a parchment from Rome. Wildhaus is not far from Glaris; and Wesen, of which Zwingle's uncle was curate, is the place where that people hold their market. The reputation of the young master of arts at Bale had penetrated to these mountains. The people of Glaris resolved to choose Zwingle for their priest.* They invited him in 1506. Zwingle, after being ordained at Constance by the bishop, preached his first sermon at Rapperswil. On St. Michael's day he read his first mass at Wildhaus, in presence of all his relations and the friends of his family, and towards the close of the year reached Glaris.

He immediately applied himself zealously to the duties of his extensive parish. Yet he was but twenty-two years of age, and at times he yielded to dissipation and the loose morality of the age. As a Romish priest he was like other priests all around him. But even at that time, when as yet the Gospel had not changed his heart, Zwingle never plunged into those scandals which often grieved the Church,† and he constantly felt that it was necessary to subject his desires to the holy rule of God's word.

A passion for war at that time disturbed the quiet valleys of Glaris. There dwelt in those valleys whole families of heroes; the Tschudi, the Wala, the Aebli, whose blood had been shed on the field of battle. The elder warriors were accustomed to recount to youths ever ready to listen to such

* Sic reverentia pudoris, imprimis autem officii divini, perpetuo cavit. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

recitals, the events of the wars of Burgundy and Suabia, the battles of St. James and of Ragaz. But alas, it was no longer against the enemies of their liberty that these martial shepherds took arms. They might be seen at the bidding of the King of France, of the Emperor, of the Duke of Milan, or of the Pope, descending like an avalanche from the Alps, and rushing with the noise of thunder against the trained soldiers of the plain.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, a poor boy named Matthew Schinner, who was attending the school of Sion in the Valais, was one day singing before the doors, as Luther used to do rather later, when he heard himself called by an old man; the latter struck by the liberty with which the child answered his questions, said in that prophetic accent which, say some, man sometimes acquires shortly before his departure from this world—"*Thou shalt be a Bishop and a Prince!*"* The prediction made a deep impression on the young mendicant, and from that moment an ambition the most unbounded took possession of his heart. At Zurich, and at Como, his progress in his studies amazed his teachers. He was appointed curate in a small parish in the Valais; rose rapidly in reputation, and being subsequently sent to Rome to solicit the Pope's confirmation of a recent election of a Bishop of Sion, he procured the bishopric for *himself*, and encircled his head with the episcopal crown. Ambitious and artful, yet not unfrequently noble and generous, this man never regarded one dignity as anything but a stepping-stone to a higher. Having tendered his

* Helvet. Kirch. Gesch. von Wirz, iii. p. 214.

services to Louis XII. for a stipulated price, the King remarked, "It is too much for any one man."—"I will shew him," replied the Bishop of Sion in a passion, "that I am a man worth purchasing at the cost of many." Accordingly he made proposals to Pope Julius II. who received his advances with joy; and Schinner, in the year 1510, succeeded in uniting the whole Swiss Confederation with the policy of that ambitious Pontiff. The Bishop having been rewarded with a Cardinal's hat, smiled to see but a single step between him and the papal throne itself!

Schinner's attention was continually engaged by the Swiss cantons, and as soon as he discerned any man of rising influence, he hastened to attach him to his interest. The pastor of Glaris drew his notice; and it was not long before Zwingle was apprized that the Pope had granted him an annual pension of fifty florins, to encourage him in his studies. His poverty being such as did not allow his purchasing books, this money, so long as he received it, was spent in procuring classical and theological works from Bale.* Zwingle thenceforward connected himself with the Cardinal, and thus became attached to the Romanist party. Schinner and Julius II. at length laid aside the mask. Eight thousand Swiss, collected together by the eloquence of the Cardinal Bishop passed the Alps;—but want of supplies, and the valour and bribes of the French, obliged them to retreat ingloriously to their mountains. They brought with them the usual effects of their foreign

* Wellches er an die Bücher verwandet. (Bullinger MSC.)

wars,—suspicion, licentiousness, party spirit, violence, and every kind of disorder. The citizens rose against the magistrates, the children against their fathers,—agriculture and their flocks were neglected,—and luxury and beggary increased,—the most sacred ties were broken, and the Confederacy seemed on the point of falling to pieces.

Then it was that the eyes of the young curate of Glaris were opened, and his indignation was awakened. His powerful voice was raised to shew the people the gulph into which they were hurrying. In the year 1510, he published his poem, entitled the Labyrinth. Behind the mazes of that mysterious garden, Minos has concealed the Minotaur, a monster half man and half bull, whom he feeds with the blood of the Athenian youth. The Minotaur, says Zwingle, is the sin, the irreligion, and the foreign service of the Swiss which devour her children.

A brave man, Theseus, undertakes to deliver his country; but many obstacles are in the way;—first, a lion with one eye; it is Spain and Arragon;—next a crowned eagle, with open throat; it is the Empire;—then a cock, with crest erect, as if provoking to the onset; it is France. The hero, overcoming all these obstacles, slays the monster and delivers his country.

"So it is now," exclaims the poet, "people wander in the labyrinth; but being without the clue, they never return to light. We nowhere see men following the walk of Christ. For a breath of fame we risk our lives,—harass our neighbours,—

rush into strifes, war, and battles . . . . as if the very furies had broken loose from hell."*

A Theseus was needed,—a Reformer;—Zwingle saw this, and from that moment he had an obscure presentiment of his destiny. Shortly after this he put forth another allegory, in which his meaning was more clearly conveyed.†

In April, 1512, the confederates again rose at the Cardinal's summons to the rescue of the Church. Glaris was foremost. The whole commune was enrolled for the campaign, and ranged under its banner with its Landaman and Pastor. Zwingle was compelled to join the march. The army passed the Alps; and the Cardinal made his appearance among the confederates, with the Pontiff's presents,—a ducal cap adorned with pearls and gold, and surmounted with the Holy Spirit, represented under the figure of a dove. The Swiss scaled the walls of the fortified towns, and in face of the enemy swam the rivers, naked, with their halberds in their arms. Every where the French were defeated, the bells and trumpets sounded, people flocked from all sides; the nobles sent to the army wine and fruits in great abundance; monks and priests proclaimed on the roads that the confederates were God's people, and the avengers of the spouse of Christ; while the Pope, a prophet similar to Caiaphas, conferred on the confederates the title of "Defenders of the Liberty of the Church."‡

* Dass wir die höllschen wütterinn'n
Mögend denken abbrochen syn.
(Zw. Opp. ed. Schüler et Schulthess, ii. part ii. p. 250.)

† Fabelgedicht vom Ochsen und etlichen Thieren, iez loufender dinge begriffenlich. (Ibid. p. 257.)

‡ De Gestis inter Gallos et Helvetios, relatio II. Zwinglii.

This visit to Italy was not without its consequences to Zwingle in his vocation as a Reformer. It was on his return from this campaign that he began to study Greek,—"in order," he said, "to draw from the true source the doctrine of Christ."* "I am resolved to apply myself so closely to Greek (he wrote to Vadian, Feb. 23, 1513,) that no one but God shall call me off from that study." "I do so from a love of divine learning, and not for the sake of fame." At a subsequent period, a worthy priest who had been his school-fellow, having visited him,—"Master Ulric," said the visitor, "they tell me you have gone into the new error, and that you are a follower of Luther."—"I am no Lutheran," said Zwingle, "for I understood Greek before I had heard the name of Luther."† To understand Greek and study the Gospel in the original, was in Zwingle's judgment the basis of the Reformation.

Zwingle went beyond this early acknowledgment of the great principle of Evangelic Christianity, namely, the unerring authority of Holy Scripture. He further saw the way of determining the sense of the Divine Word:—"Those persons have but low thoughts of the Gospel, who regard whatever they think incompatible with their reason as of no consequence, unnecessary, or unjust.‡ Men are not permitted to bend the Gospel according to their pleasure,

* Ante decem annos, operam dedi græcis literis, ut ex fontibus doctrinam Christi haurire possem. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 274. Explan. Article, 1523.)

† Ich hab' græcæ können, ehe ich ni nüt von Luther gehöt hab. (Salat. Chronicle, MSC.)

‡ Nihil sublimius de evangelio sentiunt, quam quod, quidquid eorum rationi non est consentaneum, hoc iniquum, vanum et frivolum existimant. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 202.)

to their own interpretations."*—"Zwingle looked to heaven," says his best friend, "desiring to have no other interpreter than the Holy Ghost."†

Such, from the very commencement of his career, was the man who has been boldly represented as having aimed to subject the Bible to human reason. "Philosophy and Theology," said he, "were constantly raising difficulties in my mind. At length I was brought to say, we must leave these things, and endeavour to enter into *God's thoughts* in his own word. I applied myself," continues he, "in earnest prayer to the Lord to give me his light; and though I read nothing but Scripture, its sense became clearer to me than if I had studied many commentators." He compared Scripture with Scripture, interpreting obscure texts by such as were more clear.‡ Ere long he was thoroughly acquainted with the Bible, and especially with the New Testament.§ When Zwingle thus turned towards the Holy Scriptures, Switzerland made its earliest advance towards the Reformation. Accordingly, when he expounded their meaning, all felt that his teaching came from God and not from man.‖ "A work altogether divine!" exclaims Oswald Myconius;—"it was in this manner that we recovered the knowledge of heavenly truth."

* Nec posse evangelium ad sensum et interpretationem hominum redigi. (Ibid. p. 215.)

† In cœlum suspexit, doctorem quærens spiritum. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

‡ Scripta contulit et obscura claris elucidavit. (Ibid.)

§ In summa er macht im, die H. Schrifft, Insonders dass N. T. gantz gemein. (Builinger, MSC.)

‖ Ut nemo non videret Spiritum doctorem, non hominem. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

Yet Zwingle did not despise the explanations of the most celebrated teachers; he subsequently studied Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, but never as authorities. "I study the doctors," said he, "just as we ask a friend, *How do you understand this?*" Holy Scripture was, in his judgment, the touchstone by which the holiest doctors should themselves be tested.*

Zwingle's advance was slow and progressive. He did not arrive at truth, as Luther had done, by those tempest-shocks, which compel the soul hastily to seek a refuge; he reached it by the gentle influence of Scripture—a power which gradually subdues the heart of man. Luther attained the wished-for shore after struggling with the storms of ocean;—Zwingle by steering cautiously and slowly along the shore. They are the two leading methods by which God conducts men. Zwingle was not fully converted to God and his Gospel until the early days of his abode at Zurich; yet the moment when, in 1514 or 1515, this bold man bowed the knee before God, to ask of Him to enable him to understand His word, was that wherein appeared the dawn of the day-star which afterwards rose upon him.

It was about this time that a poem of Erasmus, wherein that writer introduced Jesus Christ speaking to one who was perishing by his own apathy, produced a deep impression on Zwingle's thoughts. Alone in his room he repeated to himself the passage in which Jesus complained that men came not to him for all grace, though he was the fountain of all blessing. "*All!*" said Zwingle, "*All!*" and that word again and again recurred to his mind.—

* Scriptura canonica, seu Lydio lapide probandos. (Ibid.)

"Are there then any created beings or saints, from whom we should seek help? No, Christ is our only treasure."*

Zwingle did not confine his reading to Christian writers. One of the accompaniments of the Reformation of the sixteenth century was an attentive study of the classics. Zwingle delighted in the poems of Hesiod, Homer, and Pindar, and has left commentaries on the two latter. He studied closely Cicero and Demosthenes, whose writings instructed him in oratory and politics. The child of the mountains also loved the wonders of nature as reported by Pliny: Thucydides, Sallust, Livy, Cæsar, Suetonius, Plutarch, and Tacitus, gave him an insight into the affairs of life. He has been blamed for his enthusiastic attachment to the great names of antiquity; and true it is that some of his expressions respecting them are not to be justified. But in paying them so much honour, he thought he discerned in them not mere human virtues, but the influence of the Holy Spirit. God's dealings, far from being limited in former ages to the Holy Land, extended, as he thought, to the whole world.† "Plato, also," said he, "drew from a source divine; and if the Catos, Camillus', and Scipios, had not been deeply religious, could they have acted so nobly as we know they did?"‡

Zwingle diffused around him a love of letters.

* Dass Christus unser armen seelen ein einziger Schatz sey. (Zw. Opp. i. 298.) Zwingle, speaking in 1523, says he read this poem of Erasmus eight or nine years before.

† Spiritus ille cœlestis non solam Palæstinam vel creaverat vel fovebat, sed mundum universum . . . (Œcol. et Zw. Epp. p. 9.)

‡ Nisi religiosi nunquam fuissent magnanimi. (Ibid.)

Several young persons of distinction were brought up in his school. "You have offered me not only your books, but yourself," wrote Valentine Tschudi, son of one of the heroes in the wars of Burgundy; and this youth, who had already studied at Vienna and Bale under the first masters, added, "I have never met with any one who explains the classics with so much justness of thought, and depth of understanding, as yourself."* Tschudi went to Paris, and had an opportunity of comparing the genius of its university, with that he had known in the narrow valley of the Alps, overlooked by the gigantic summits and eternal snows of the Dodi, the Glarnisch, the Righi, and the Freyberg. "In what trifling do they educate the youth of France!" said he: "no poison can equal the sophistical art they are trained in. It dulls the faculties, destroys the judgment, and reduces to the level of the brutes. It makes a man a mere echo, an empty sound. Ten women could not compete with one of such sophists.† Even in their prayers I feel assured they bring their sophisms to God himself, and would by syllogisms oblige the Holy Spirit to grant their petitions." Such at this period was Paris, the intellectual capital of Christendom, contrasted with Glaris, a market-town of shepherds of the Alps. One gleam of light from God's word gives more true illumination than all the wisdom of man.

A great genius of that age, Erasmus, exercised much influence on Zwingle. The moment any of

* Nam qui sit acrioris in enodandis autoribus judicii, vidi neminem. (Zw. Epp. 13.)

† Ut nec decem mulierculæ . . . uni sophistæ adæquari queant. (Ibid. 45.)

his writings appeared, Zwingle hastened to procure it. In 1514 Erasmus visited Bale, and was received by its Bishop with every expression of esteem. All the friends of learning assembled round him. But the monarch of the schools had at once discovered the man who promised to be the glory of Switzerland. "I congratulate the Swiss people," said he, writing to Zwingle, "that you are doing your best to civilize and ennoble it, by studies and moral conduct alike worthy of admiration."* Zwingle longed to see him. "Spaniards and Gauls once made the journey to Rome to look on Titus Livius," said he, and—set out. Arriving at Bale, he there found a man about forty years of age, of small stature, weak health, and delicate constitution, but extremely amiable and polite.† It was Erasmus. The charm of his intimacy banished Zwingle's timidity, and the power of his intellect impressed him with reverence. "As poor," said Ulric, "as Æschines, when the disciples of Socrates each brought a gift to their master, I make you the present he made, and give you *myself*."

Among the men of learning who then formed a kind of court of Erasmus,—Amerbach, Rhenanus, Froben, Nessenus, Glareanus, and the rest—Zwingle took notice of a young native of Lucerne, twenty-seven years of age, named Oswald Geishüssler. Erasmus, translating his name into Greek, had named him Myconius. We shall often speak of him by his Christian name, to distinguish this

* Tu, tuique similes optimis etiam studiis ac moribus et expolietis et nobilitabitis. (Zw. Epp. p. 10.)

† Et corpusculo hoc tuo minuto, verum minime inconcinno, urbanissime gesticntem videre videar. (Ibid.)

friend of Zwingle from Frederic Myconius, the disciple of Luther. Oswald, after studying at Rothwyl with another young man of his own age, named Berthold Haller,—then at Berne, and afterwards at Bale,—had become rector of St. Theodoric's and still later of St. Peter's school in that city. Though the humble schoolmaster had but a slender income, he had married a young girl of a simplicity and purity of mind that won all hearts. We have already said that it was a time of trouble in Switzerland; when foreign wars gave rise to scandalous disorders, and the soldiers returning to their country brought with them habits of licentiousness and brutality. One winter's day, gloomy and overcast, some of these wretches attacked the quiet dwelling of Oswald in his absence. They assaulted the door, threw stones, and with indecent language called for his wife. At last they burst open the door, and having made their way to his school, broke every thing in the place, and then retired. Shortly after Oswald returned. His son, little Felix, ran to meet him with loud cries; and his wife, speechless, made signs of horror. In a moment he perceived what had happened. At the same instant a noise was heard in the street. Unable to controul himself, the schoolmaster seized a weapon and pursued the rioters to the cemetery. They took refuge within it and prepared to resist. Three of them rushed upon Myconius and wounded him; and while his wounds were being dressed, the wretches again broke into his house with horrid cries. Oswald tells no more.* Such were the scenes which took place in Switzerland at the beginning of the six-

* Erasmi, Laus Stultitiæ, cum annot. Myconii.

teenth century, before the Reformation had humanized the manners of the people.

The uprightness of Oswald Myconius, and his desire of learning and virtue, brought him into contact with Zwingle. The rector of the school of Bale at once acknowledged the superior genius of the curate of Glaris. In unaffected humility he shrunk from the praises of Zwingle and Erasmus. "You schoolmasters," the latter would often say, "are, in my opinion, equal to kings." But the modest Myconius was of a different judgment. "I do but creep upon the earth," said he; "from my childhood there has been a something low and small about me."*

A preacher who had arrived in Bale, almost at the same time as Zwingle, was then exciting attention. Of mild and peaceful temper, he loved a tranquil life;—slow and circumspect in his actions, he was most happy in studious occupations and in endeavours to promote good will among Christians.† He was named John Hausschein, in Greek Œcolampadius, or "light of the house," and was born in Franconia, of rich parents, one year before the birth of Zwingle. His pious mother wished to devote to learning and to God himself the only child that providence had left her. His father at first destined him to commerce, and afterwards to jurisprudence; but on Œcolampadius's return from Bologna, (where he had studied law), the Lord, whose purpose it was to make him a light in the

* Equidem humi repere didici hactenus, et est natura nescio quid humile vel a cunabulis in me. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

† Ingenio miti et tranquillo, pacis et concordiæ studiosissimus. (M. Ad. Vit. Œc. p. 58.)

Church, called him to the study of Theology.* He was preaching in his native town when Capito, who had made his acquaintance at Heidelberg, obtained his election as preacher at Bale. He there proclaimed Christ with an eloquence which was the admiration of his hearers.† Erasmus admitted him to intimacy. Œcolampadius was charmed with the hours he spent in the society of this distinguished genius. "We must seek," said the prince of scholars, "we must seek but one thing in Holy Scripture, namely, Jesus Christ." He presented to the young preacher in token of his friendship the first chapters of St. John's Gospel. Œcolampadius would often kiss this pledge of so valued a friendship, and appended it to his crucifix, "in order," said he, "that I may always remember Erasmus in my prayers."

Zwingle returned to his mountain-home with his mind and heart full of all he had seen and heard at Bale. "I should not be able to sleep," said he, writing to Erasmus, "without holding some discourse with you. There is nothing I am so proud of as having seen Erasmus." Zwingle had received a new impulsion. Such visits have at times great effects on a Christian's conduct. The disciples of Zwingle, Valentin, Jost, Louis, Peter, and Egidius Tschudi; his friends, the bailiff Aebli, the curate Binzli of Wesen, Fridolin Brunner, and the celebrated professor Glareanus, were delighted to

* Flectente et vocante Deo, qui eo in domo sua pro lampade usurus erat. (Melch. Ad. Vit. Œc. p. 46.)

† Omnium vere spiritualium et eruditorum admiratione Christum predicavit. (Melch. Ad. Vit. Œc. p. 46.)

‡ Nihil in sacris literis præter Christum quærendum. (Erasmi, Epp. p. 403.)

watch his growth in wisdom and knowledge. The old respected him as a courageous defender of his country;—the faithful pastors as a zealous minister of the Lord. Nothing was transacted in the country without his advice. All the better sort looked to him as destined one day to restore the ancient virtues of their country.*

Francis the First having ascended the throne, and preparing to avenge on Italy the honour of France, the Pope in alarm sought to gain over the cantons. Thus, in 1515, Ulric again saw the plains of Italy covered by the battalions of his fellow-countrymen. But the discord which the intrigues of the French introduced among the army of the confederates grieved his spirit. Often might he be seen, in the midst of the camp, haranguing, in words of energy and wisdom, an audience armed from head to foot and ready for battle.† On the 8th of September, five days before the battle of Marignan, he preached in the square of Monza, where the Swiss troops who adhered to their standards were assembled. "If the advice of Zwingle had then been followed," says Werner Steiner of Zug, "what miseries would our country have been spared!" But all ears were closed against the accents of concord, peace, and submission. The overpowering eloquence of the Cardinal Schinner electrified the confederates, and made them rush impetuously to the fatal plains of Marignan. The flower of the Swiss youth perished. Zwingle, who had failed in his attempts to avert these calamities,

* Justitiam avitam per hunc olim restitutum iri. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

† In dem Heerlager hat er Flyssig geprediget. (Bullinger MSC.)

exposed himself in the cause of Rome to the greatest danger. His hand grasped a sword!* Melancholy mistake of Zwingle. He, a minister of Christ, more than once forgot that it was his duty, to fight only with the weapons of the Spirit, and he was doomed to see accomplished in his own case in a most striking manner, that prophecy of the Lord, *They that take the sword shall perish by the sword.*

Zwingle and the Swiss failed to save Rome from defeat. The Venetian ambassador, at the court of Rome, was the first to learn the news of the defeat at Marignan. Overjoyed he repaired early to the Vatican. The Pope left his apartments, though scarcely attired, to give him audience. Leo the Tenth on hearing the intelligence made no secret of his fears. In a moment of alarm he saw nothing but Francis the First, and lost all hope:— "My lord ambassador," said he tremblingly to Zorsi, "we must throw ourselves into the king's arms and cry for mercy." Luther and Zwingle, when in circumstances of peril, knew another refuge and invoked another mercy.†

This second visit to Italy was not unattended with advantage to Zwingle. He took notice of the differences between the Ambrosian ritual, in use at Milan, and that of Rome. He collected and compared with each other the most ancient canons of the Mass. Thus his spirit of inquiry found employment amid the tumult of camps. At the same time the sight of the children of his native land, drawn

* . . . In den Schlachten sich redlich und dapfer gestellt mit Rathen, Worten und Thaten. (Bullinger MSC.)

† Domine orator, vederemo quel fara il re Christmo semetteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia. (Zorsi Relatione MS.)

from their mountains, and delivered up to slaughter like their cattle, filled him with indignation. "The blood of the confederates," said he, "is counted of less value than their sheep and oxen." The faithlessness and ambition of the Pope,*—the avarice and ignorance of the clergy,—the licentiousness and immorality of the monks,—the pride and luxury of the prelates,—the corruption and venality that spread on all sides among his countrymen,—all these evils were forced more than ever on his notice, and helped to deepen more than ever his conviction of the necessity of a reformation in the Church.

Zwingle from that time preached the word of God with more distinctness. He expounded the portions of the Gospels and Epistles chosen for public worship; ever comparing Scripture with Scripture.† He spoke with force and animation,‡ and pursued with his auditors the same course that God was pursuing with him. He did not expose, as Luther did, the wounds of the Church; but, according as his study of the Bible discovered to him any profitable instruction, he imparted it to his flock. He laboured to persuade them to receive the truth into their hearts; and then depended upon it for the effect it was destined to produce.§ "If the people see clearly what is true," thought he, "they will at once discern what is false."—This maxim is good

* Bellissimo parlador: (Leo X.) prometea assa ma non atendea... (Relatione MSC. di Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma.)

† Non hominum commentis, sed sola scripturarum biblicarum collatione. (Zw. Opp. i p. 273.)

‡ Sondern auch mit predigen, dorrinen er helftig wass. (Bullinger's MS.)

§ Volebat veritatem cognitam, in cordibus auditorum, agere suum officium. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

in the commencement of a reformation, but a time arrives when error must be boldly denounced. Zwingle well knew this. "The spring," said he, "is the season for sowing our seed."—It was then seed time with him.

Zwingle has marked this period as the dawn of the Swiss Reformation. Four years before, he had bent over God's book; and he now raised his head and turned toward the people to impart to them the light he had received from it. It was a new and important epoch in the development of the religious revolution of these countries; but it is a mistaken conclusion to infer that Zwingle's reformation preceded Luther's. Zwingle may possibly have preached the Gospel a year previous to the theses of Luther, but the Gospel was preached by Luther himself four years before those celebrated propositions. If Luther and Zwingle had done nothing but preach, the Reformation would not have so soon spread through the Church. The one and the other was neither the first monk, nor the first priest who taught a purer doctrine than the scholastic teachers; but Luther was the first who boldly and publicly raised the standard of truth against prevailing error, and invited general attention to the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, *salvation by grace;* thus introducing his generation to that path of knowledge, faith, and life, from which a new world has arisen, and commencing a real and saving change. The great battle, of which the signal was given in the theses of 1517, was the true parent of the Reformation, and gave to it both its soul and its form. Luther was the earliest of the Reformers.

A spirit of inquiry was beginning to breathe on

the Swiss mountains. One day the curate of Glaris, being in the lovely country of Mollis, at the house of Adam the curate of the place in company with Binzli curate of Wesen, and Varchon curate of Kerensen, the party of friends found an old liturgy in which they read these words,—"After the child is baptized, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and the cup is to be given him."*—"Then," remarked Zwingle, "the Supper was at that time given under both kinds!" The liturgy in question was about two centuries old. This was a grand discovery for the priests of the Alps.

The defeat at Marignan produced the consequences that were to be expected in the remoter cantons. The victorious Francis I. lavished gold and flattery to win over the confederates; and the Emperor adjured them by their honour, by the tears of widows and orphans, and the blood of their brethren, not to sell their services to their murderers. The French party prevailed in Glaris, and his residence in the country became from that time a burthen to Ulric.

At Glaris, Zwingle might have remained a man of his own age. Party intrigue, political prejudices, the Empire, France, the Duke of Milan, might have almost absorbed his life. God never leaves in the tumult of the world those whom he is training for the people. He leads them aside,—he sets them in solitude, where they may feel themselves in his presence, and gather inexhaustible instruction. The Son of God himself, the type in that particular of his dealings with his servants, passed forty days

* Detur Eucharistiæ sacramentum, similiter poculum sanguinis. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 266.)

in the desert. The time had come when Zwingle was to be delivered from the turmoil of this political agitation, which by constant passage through his soul would have quenched the Spirit of God. It was time that he should be disciplined for another stage than that whereon figured courtiers and factions, and on which he might have been tempted to waste an energy worthy of better aims. His country stood in need of a very different service. It was necessary that a new life should at this time descend from heaven, and that he who was to be the instrument in communicating it to others should himself unlearn the things of time. These two spheres are entirely distinct;—a wide space separates these two worlds; and before passing from the one to the other, Zwingle was to halt for a while on a neutral territory, a middle and preparatory ground, there to be taught of God. God at this time took him from the centre of the factions of Glaris, and led him, for his noviciate, to the solitude of a hermitage. Thus was the hopeful promise of the Reformation, which ere long was to be transplanted to another soil, and to cover the mountains with its shadow, shut up in the narrow enclosure of the walls of an abbey.

About the middle of the ninth century, a wayfaring monk, Meinrad of Hohenzollern, had passed between the lakes of Zurich and Wallstetten, and resting on a little hill in front of an amphitheatre of fir trees, had constructed there his cell. Outlaws had imbrued their hands in the blood of the saint. For a long time the blood-stained cell was deserted. But towards the end of the tenth century, a convent and church, in honour of the Virgin, was built on this sacred spot. On the eve of the day ap-

pointed for its consecration, the Bishop of Constance and his priests were at prayers in the church—when a heavenly chaunt, proceeding from some invisible beings, suddenly resounded in the chapel. They listened prostrate and amazed. Next day, as the bishop was about to consecrate the chapel, a voice three times repeated, "Stop! Stop! God himself has consecrated it."* Christ in person, it was said, had pronounced his blessing on it during the night; the hymns heard were those of the angels, apostles, and saints; and the Virgin had appeared for an instant like a flash of lightning on the altar. A bull of Leo VIII. forbade the faithful to doubt the truth of this legendary tale. From that time a vast crowd of pilgrims poured incessantly to our Lady of the Eremites for the consecration of the angels. Delphi and Ephesus in former ages, and Loretto in modern times, have alone equalled the renown of Einsidlen. It was in this singular scene that Ulric Zwingle was, in 1516, called to be priest and preacher.

Zwingle did not hesitate. "I am neither swayed by ambition, nor the love of gain," said he, "but driven by the intrigues of the French."† Motives of a higher kind concur to decide him. On the one hand being more retired, having more quiet, and a charge of less extent, he will have more time for study and meditation. On the other hand, this resort of pilgrims will afford him opportunity for

* Cessa, cessa, frater, divinitus capella consecrata est. Hartm. Annal. Einsidl. p. 51.

† Locum mutavimus non cupidinis aut cupiditatis moti stimulis, verum Gallorum technis. (Zw. Epp. 24.)

diffusing to the most distant lands the knowledge of Christ.*

The friends of the gospel at Glaris loudly expressed their grief. "What worse could have befallen Glaris," said Peter Tschudi, one of the most distinguished citizens of the canton, "than to lose so valuable a man."† His parishioners, seeing his inflexibility, resolved to continue to him the name of pastor of Glaris, with a part of the stipend, and the power of returning to it whenever he would.‡

Conrad of Reichberg, a gentleman descended from an ancient family, of serious, open-hearted, intrepid, and sometimes stern manners, was one of the best known huntsmen of the country whither Zwingle was going. He had established on one of his estates a stud for the breeding of horses, which became famous in Italy. This man was the *Abbot* of Our Lady of the Eremites. Reichberg held in equal aversion the pretensions of Rome, and theological controversy. When one, on occasion of a visitation of the order, made some remarks: "I am master here and not you," answered he abruptly; "go about your business." Another time, when Leo Juda was discussing some subject at table with the administrator of the convent, the hunting Abbot exclaimed: "Let me put an end to your disputings:—I say with

* Christum et ejus veritatem in regiones et varias et remotas divulgari tam felici opportunitate. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

† Quid enim Glareanæ nostræ tristius accidere poterat, tanto videlicet privari viro. (Zw. Epp. p. 16.)

‡ For two years after this, Zwingle still signed himself: Pastor Glaronæ, Minister Eremi. (Zw. Epp. p. 30.)

David,—*Have mercy upon me, O God! according to thy loving kindness: Enter not into judgment with thy servant!*—and I want to know nothing more."*

The Baron Theobald de Geroldsek was administrator of the monastery. He was of mild character, sincerely pious, and fond of learning. His favourite scheme was to collect in his convent a society of learned men. With this view he had invited Zwingle. Eager for instruction, he entreated his new friend to direct his studies. "Read the Holy Scriptures," answered Zwingle, "and for the better understanding them, consult St. Jerome." "And yet," he continued, "a time is coming (and soon too, with God's help), when Christians will think little of St. Jerome or any other teacher, but the Word of God."† The conduct of Geroldsek exhibited evidence of his progress in the faith. He gave permission to the nuns of a nunnery attached to Einsidlen to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and some years after he took up his abode at Zurich, in Zwingle's neighbourhood, and died on the plain of Cappel. The same attraction soon united to Zwingle the worthy Œxlin, Lucas, and other inmates of the abbey walls. These studious men, remote from the clamours of party, were accustomed to read together the Scriptures, the Fathers, the masterpieces of antiquity, and the writings of the restorers of learning. It often happened that friends from distant parts

* Wirz, K. Gesch. iii. 363. Zwinglis Bildung v. Schüler, p. 174. Miscell. Tigur. iii. 28.

† Fore, idque brevi, Deo sic juvante, ut neque Hieronymus neque cæteri, sed sola Scriptura divini apud Christianos in prætio sit futura. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 273.)

joined their interesting circle. One day Capito, among others, arrived on a visit to Einsidlen. The two friends, renewing the connection formed at Baden, together went round the convent and its wild environs,—absorbed in conversation touching the Scripture and the will of God. On one point they were agreed;—it was *that the Pope must fall!* Capito was at that time a braver man than he was at a later date.

In this quiet retreat Zwingle had rest, leisure, books, and friends; and he grew in understanding and in faith. Then it was (May 1507), that he applied himself to a task that was very useful to him. As in early times, the kings of Israel with their own hands transcribed the law of God, so Zwingle copied out the Epistles of St. Paul. There were then none but cumbrous editions of the New Testament, and Zwingle wished to be able to carry it always about him.* He learnt by heart the whole of the Epistles; then the remaining books of the New Testament; and after that portions of the Old. Thus did his heart cleave more and more to the supreme authority of God's Word. Not satisfied with acknowledging its supremacy he formed the resolution to subject his life to it in sincerity. Gradually his walk became in every thing more Christian. The purpose for which he had been brought into this wilderness was then accomplishing. Doubtless it was not till his visit to Zurich that the Christian life penetrated his soul with power; but already at Einsidlen his progress in sanctification was evident. At Glaris he had been seen to take part in worldly amusements;—

* This manuscript is in the library of Zurich.

at Einsidlen he was more noticeable for purity of manners and freedom from every stain and from every kind of worldliness: he began to see the great spiritual interests of the people, and by slow degrees learned what God would teach him.

Providence had besides other purposes in bringing him to Einsidlen. He was to have a nearer view of the superstitions and corruptions which had invaded the Church. The image of the Virgin, carefully preserved in the monastery, it was alleged had the power of working miracles. Over the gate of the abbey might be read this pompous inscription—"Here may be obtained complete remission of sins." A multitude of pilgrims from all parts of Christendom flocked to Einsidlen, that they might obtain this *grace* for their pilgrimage. The church, the abbey, the whole valley, was crowded on occasion of the fête of the Virgin, with her devout worshippers. But it was especially on the grand fête of the consecration of the angels, that the crowd thronged the hermitage. Long files, to the number of several thousands of both sexes, climbed the steep sides of the mountain leading to the oratory, singing hymns, or counting the beads of their chaplets. These devout pilgrims forced their way into the church, believing themselves nearer to God *there* than any where else.

Zwingle's residence at Einsidlen had similar effects to those attending Luther's visit to Rome, in admitting him to a closer view of the corruptions of the Papacy. It was there his education, as a Reformer, was completed. The seriousness his soul had acquired soon manifested itself in outward action.

Affected at the sight of so many evils, he resolved to oppose them energetically. He did not falter between his conscience and his interest. He boldly stood up, and his powerful eloquence fearlessly attacked the superstition of the crowd that surrounded him. "Think not," said he, speaking from his pulpit, "that God is in this temple more than in any other part of creation. Wherever he has fixed your dwelling he encompasses you, and hears you as much as at our Lady at Einsidlen. What power can there be in unprofitable works, weary pilgrimages, offerings, prayers to the Virgin and the saints, to secure you the favour of God! What signify the multiplying of words in prayer! What efficacy in the cowl, or shaven crown, or priestly garments falling, and adorned with gold! God looks upon the heart—and our heart is far off from God."*

But Zwingle was resolved to do more than resist superstition; he sought to satisfy the ardent desire after reconciliation with God, which urged on some of the pilgrims that flocked to the chapel of our Lady of Einsidlen. "Christ," he cried, like the Baptist from another wilderness of Judea; "*Christ*, who offered himself on the cross once for all, is the sacrifice and victim which satisfies for all eternity, for the sins of all believers."† Thus Zwingle went forward. From the hour, when so bold a style of

* Vestis oblonga et plicis plena, muli auro ornati . . . Cor vero interim procul a Deo est. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 236.)

† Christus qui sese semel in cruce obtulit, hostia est et victima satisfaciens in æternum, pro peccatis omnium fidelium. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 263.)

preaching was heard in the most venerated sanctuary in Switzerland, the banner of resistance to Rome was more distinctly visible above its mountains: and there was a kind of earthquake of reformation which moved its very foundations.

In truth, an universal astonishment took possession of men's minds at the sound of the eloquent priest's sermons. Some withdrew with horror; others fluctuated between the faith of their fathers and the doctrine that was to give them peace; many were led to that Jésus who was declared to be full of mercy, and took away with them the tapers they had brought to present to the Virgin. A crowd of pilgrims returned to their native places, everywhere announcing the tidings they had heard at Einsidlen. "Christ ALONE saves us, and he saves EVERYWHERE!" It often happened that troops of pilgrims, astonished at what they thus heard recounted, turned back without completing their pilgrimage. The worshippers of Mary were every day fewer. It was from their offerings the revenue of Zwingle and of Geroldsek was drawn. But the bold witness for the truth was too happy to see himself impoverished, while thus, spiritually, making many rich.

On Easter Sunday, 1518, among the numerous hearers of Zwingle was a learned man, of gentle character and active charity, named Gaspard Hedio, a doctor of divinity at Bale. Zwingle preached on the history of the man taken with palsy, (Luke v.) in which occurs our Lord's declaration: "*The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins,*" a passage well suited to strike the crowd assembled in

the church of the Virgin. The preacher's discourse moved, delighted, and inspired the whole assembly; and in an especial manner the doctor of Bale.* Long afterwards Hedio would express his admiration:—"How beautiful and profound! how grave and convincing! how moving and agreeable to the Gospel was that discourse!" said he. "How it reminds one of the ενεργεια (force) of the ancient doctors."† From that moment Hedio admired and loved Zwingle.‡ He longed to go to him and open his heart; he lingered about the abbey without daring to make advances, restrained, as he tells us, by a sort of superstitious fear. Mounting his horse, he slowly departed from our Lady's chapel, looking back on a spot which held so great a treasure, with the warmest regret.§

In this manner did Zwingle preach; less powerfully, no doubt, but with more moderation, and no less success than Luther; he avoided precipitation, and gave less offence to men's minds than the Saxon monk; he trusted to the power of Truth for results. The same prudence marked his intercourse with the dignitaries of the Church. Far from directly opposing them, like Luther,—he continued long on friendly terms with them. They treated him with respect, not only on account of his learning and talents, (and Luther would have been entitled to

* Is sermo ita me inflammavit . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 90.)

† Elegans ille, doctus, gravis, copiosus, penetrans et evangelicus . . . (Ibid. 89.)

‡ Ut inciperem Zwinglium arctissime complecti, suscipere at admirari. (Ibid.)

§ Sicque abequitavi, non sine molestia, quam tamen ipse mihi pepereram. (Ibid. 90.)

equal attention from the Bishops of Mentz and Brandeburg) but still more on account of his devotion to the Pope's political views, and the influence that such a man as Zwingle must needs possess in a republic.

In fact, several cantons, weary of the Pope's service, were on the point of a rupture. But the legates hoped to retain many on their side by gaining Zwingle, as they had gained over Erasmus, by pensions and honours. The legates, Ennius and Pucci, often visited Einsidlen, where, from the proximity of the democratic cantons, their negociations with those states were most easy. But Zwingle, far from sacrificing truth to the solicitations and bribes of Rome, allowed no opportunity to pass of defending the Gospel. The famous Schinner, who was then on ill terms with his diocese, spent some time at Einsidlen. "The whole Papacy," remarked Zwingle, in conversation with him, "rests on bad foundations.* Do you begin and clear away errors and corruptions, or else you will see the whole fabric come tumbling to the ground with frightful noise."†

He spoke with the same frankness to the legate Pucci. Four times did he return to the charge. "By God's help," said he, "I mean to preach the Gospel,—and that will shake Rome:" and then he went on to explain what was needed in order to save the Church. Pucci promised every thing, but did nothing. Zwingle declared his intention to throw up the Pope's pension, but the legate entreated him

* Dass das ganz papstum einen schlechten grund habe. (Zw. Opp. ii. pars i. p. 7.)

† Oder aber sy werdind mit grosser unrüw umfallen. (Ibid.)

to retain it. As he had no desire to appear in open hostility against the head of the Church, Zwingle continued in receipt of it for three years. "But do not think," said he, "that for any money I will suppress a single syllable of truth."* Pucci, in alarm, procured the nomination of the Reformer as acolyte of the Pope. It was a step to further honours. Rome sought to intimidate Luther by solemn judgments;—and to win Zwingle by her favours. Against one she hurled excommunications; to the other she cast her gold and splendours. They were two different methods for attaining the same end, and sealing the daring lips which presumed, in opposition to the Pope's pleasure, to proclaim the word of God in Germany and Switzerland. The last device was the most skilfully conceived,—but neither was successful. The enlarged hearts of the preachers of the Gospel were shewn to be above the reach of vengeance or seduction.

About this time Zwingle conceived great hopes of another Swiss prelate. This was Hugo of Landenberg, Bishop of Constance. Landenberg gave directions for a general visitation of the churches,—but being a man of very feeble character, he allowed himself to be overruled, sometimes by Faber his vicar, at others by a bad woman, from whose influence he could not extricate himself. He sometimes seemed to honour the Gospel;—and yet, if any one preached it boldly, he looked upon the preacher as a disturber. He was one of those men too often met with in the church, who, preferring truth to error,

* Frustra sperari me vel verbulum de veritate deminuturum esse, pecuniæ gratia. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 365.)

are nevertheless more tender of error than concerned for truth; and are frequently found at last opposed to those in whose ranks they ought to be contending. Zwingle applied to Hugo;—but in vain. He was doomed to experience, as Luther had done, that it was useless to invoke the assistance of the heads of the Church; and that the only way to revive Christianity was to act the part of a faithful teacher of God's word. The opportunity for this was not long delayed.

In 1518, a barefooted Carmelite arrived on the heights of St. Gothard, in those elevated passes which have been with difficulty opened across the steep rocks that separate Switzerland from Italy. This man had been brought up in an Italian convent, and was the bearer of Papal indulgences, which he was commissioned to sell to the good Christian people of the Helvetic league. Brilliant successes under two preceding Popes had made him notorious for this shameful traffic. Companions of his journey, whose business it was to puff off his wares, accompanied his advance across snows and ice-fields, as old as creation itself. The caravan, miserable in its appearance, and a good deal resembling a troop of adventurers in quest of booty, went forward to the sound of the dashing streams that form by their confluence the rivers Rhine, Reuss, Aar, Rhone, Tessino, and others,—silently meditating the spoiling of the simple Swiss. Samson,—for that was the name of the Carmelite, attended by his company, arrived first at Uri, and commenced their trade. They had soon made an end with these poor country folks, and removed thence to the canton of

Schwitz. It was there Zwingle was residing; and there it was that the contest between these servants of two widely different masters was to begin. "*I am empowered to remit all sins!*" said the Italian monk (the Tetzel of Switzerland) to the people of Schwitz. "Heaven and earth are subject to my authority; and I dispose of Christ's merits to whoever will purchase them,—by bringing me their money for their indulgence."

When tidings of this discourse reached Zwingle, his zeal was kindled, and he preached vehemently. "Christ," said he, "the Son of God, says, *Come unto me all ye who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* What audacious folly and madness is it then to say, contradicting him: 'Buy letters of indulgence,—apply to Rome,—give your money to the monks,—sacrifice to the priests!*—if you do these things, I will absolve you from your sins.'—Christ is the one offering! Christ is the only sacrifice! Christ is the only way!"†

Throughout Schwitz people soon spoke of Samson as a cheat and impostor. He took the road to Zug; and, for the moment, the two champions missed each other.

Scarcely had Samson taken his departure from Schwitz, when a citizen of that canton named Stapfer, who was much respected, and afterwards public secretary, was suddenly reduced, with his family, to a state of total destitution. "Alas!" said he, "addressing himself in his perplexity to

* Romam curre! redime literas indulgentiarum! da tantumdem monachis! offer sacerdotibus, &c. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 222.)

† Christus una est oblatio, unum sacrificium, una via. (Ibid. 201.)

Zwingle, "I know not how to satisfy my hunger and the wants of my poor children."* Zwingle could give when Rome would take; and he was as ready to do good works, as he was to oppose those who inculcated them as means by which we are saved. He daily supplied Stapfer with support.† "It is God," said he, intent on taking no credit to himself, "it is God who begets charity in the believer, and gives at once the first thought, the resolve, and the work itself: it is God who does it by his own power."‡ Stapfer's affection for him lasted till death; and four years after this, when he filled the post of secretary of Schwitz, he turned to Zwingle under the feeling of a higher want, and with noble candour said, "Since it was you who once supplied my temporal need, how much more may I expect you may give me that which shall satisfy the famine of my soul."

The friends of Zwingle multiplied daily. It was no longer at Glaris, Bale, and Schwitz, that persons were found whose hearts were with him:—at Uri, there was Schmidt the secretary; at Zug, Colin Muller, and Werner Steiner, his old companion in arms at Marignan; at Lucerne, Xyloctect and Kilchmeyer; at Bienne, Wittembach; and in other parts not a few. But the curate of Einsidlen had no more devoted friend than Oswald Myconius. Oswald had quitted Bale in 1516 to take the direc-

* Ut meæ, meorumque liberorum inediæ corporali subveniretis. (Zw. Epp. 284.)

† Largas mihi quotidie suppetias tulistis. (Ibid.)

‡ Caritatem ingenerat Deus, consilium, propositum et opus. Quidquid boni præstat justus, hoc Deus sua virtute præstat. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 226.)

tion of the cathedral school at Zurich. At this period that city possessed neither learned men nor schools. Oswald laboured, in conjunction with several benevolent persons, to reclaim the people of Zurich from their ignorance, and initiate them in ancient learning. He at the same time defended the uncompromising truth of holy Scripture, and declared that if the Pope or the Emperor should enjoin what was contrary to the Gospel, it was man's duty to obey God alone, who is above Emperor or Pope.

Seven centuries before, Charlemagne had added a college of canons to that same cathedral, the school attached to which was placed under Oswald Myconius. These canons having declined from their first institution, and wishing to enjoy their benefices in the sweets of indolence, had adopted the custom of electing a preacher, to whom they delegated the duty of preaching and the cure of souls. This post became vacant shortly after the arrival of Oswald, who immediately thought of his friend. What a blessing it would be to Zurich! Zwingle's manners and appearance were prepossessing;—he was a handsome man,* of polite address, and pleasing conversation, already remarked for his eloquence, and distinguished among all the confederated Swiss for his brilliant genius. Myconius spoke of him to the provost of the chapter, Felix Frey,† who was prepossessed by the manners and talents of Zwingle;—to Utinger, an old man

* Dan Zwingli vom lyb ein hubscher man wass. (Bullinger MS.)

† Und als Imme sein gestalt und geschiklichkeit wol gefiel, gab er Im syn stimm. (Ibid.)

much respected, and to the canon Hoffman, a man of upright and open character, who having for a long time opposed the foreign service of the Swiss, was favourably inclined toward Ulric. Other inhabitants of Zurich had, on different occasions, heard Zwingle at Einsidlen, and had returned home full of admiration. The approaching election of a preacher for the cathedral ere long put every body in Zurich in motion. Various interests were started:—many laboured night and day to promote the election of the eloquent preacher of our Lady of the Eremites.* Myconius apprized his friend of it. "On Wednesday next," answered Zwingle, "I am going to dine at Zurich, and we will talk it over." He came accordingly. Calling on one of the canons the latter inquired: "Could you not come amongst us and preach the word of God?"—"I could," answered Zwingle, "but I will not come unless invited;" and forthwith he returned to his monastery.

This visit alarmed his enemies. They persuaded several priests to offer themselves as candidates for the vacant post. A Suabian, named Lorenzo Fable, even preached a sermon in proof of his talent; and a report prevailed that he was chosen. "True it is, then," said Zwingle when he heard it, "no prophet is honoured in his own country; since a Suabian is preferred before a Swiss. I see what popular applause is worth."† Immediately after-

* Qui dies et noctes laborarent ut vir ille subrogaretur. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

† Scio vulgi acclamationes et illud blandum Euge! Euge! (Zw. Epp. p. 53.)

wards Zwingle received intelligence from the secretary of Cardinal Schinner that the election had not taken place; nevertheless the false report that had reached him piqued the curate of Einsidlen. Finding one so unworthy as Fable aspiring to fill the office, he was the more bent on obtaining it, and wrote to Myconius on the subject. Oswald answered the following day, "Fable will continue *fable:* the good folks who will have to decide the election, have learned that he is the father of six sons, and is besides possessed of I can't tell how many benefices."*

Zwingle's opponents were not discouraged; true, all agreed in extolling his distinguished acquirements;† but some said, "he is too passionately fond of music;" others, "he is fond of company and pleasure;" others again, "he was in his youth very intimate with people of loose morals." One man even charged him with having been guilty of seduction. This was mere calumny:—yet Zwingle, although more innocent than the ecclesiastics of his age, had more than once, in the first years of his ministry, given way to the passions of youth. It is not easy to estimate the effect upon the soul of the atmosphere in which it lives. There existed under the Papacy, and among the clergy, disorders that were established, allowed, and recognised, as agreeable to the laws of nature. A saying of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., gives some notion

* Fabula manebit fabula; quem domini mei acceperunt sex pueris esse patrem. . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 53.)

† Neminem tamen, qui tuam doctrinam non ad cœlum ferat . . . (Ibid.)

of the wretched state of public morals at this period.* Licentiousness had become almost every where allowed.

Oswald exerted all his activity in his friend's favour. He laboured to the utmost to clear his character, and happily succeeded.† He visited the burgomaster Roust, Hoffman, Frey, and Utinger. He extolled the probity, the frankness, and deportment of Zwingle, and confirmed the favourable impression that he had made on the people of Zurich. But little credence was given to the assertions of his adversaries. The men of most weight gave their judgment that Zwingle should be the preacher of Zurich. The canons whispered the same thing. "You may hope for success," wrote Oswald with emotion, "for I have hopes of it." At the same time he apprised him of the charges of his enemies. Although Zwingle was not yet altogether a new man, his was the soul of one whose conscience is awakened, and who may fall into sin, but never without struggle and remorse. Often had he determined to live a holy life,—alone among his order,—in the world. But when he heard himself accused he would not boast of exemption from sin. Accordingly he wrote to the canon Utinger. "With none to walk with me in the path of holiness (many even of those about me being offended at it,) I did alas! fall;—and, as St. Peter says, turned again, like a dog, to my own vomit.‡ God knows with what shame and anguish I have dragged

* Non esse qui vigesimum annum excessit, nec virginem tetigerit. (Zw. Epp. p. 57.)

† Reprimo hæc pro viribus, imo et repressi. (Ibid. p. 54.)

‡ Quippe neminem habens, comitem hujus instituti, scandalizantes

forth into light these sins from the depths of my heart, and spread them before that mighty God, to whom I, however, confess my wretchedness more freely than to mortal man."* But while Zwingle acknowledged himself a sinner, he vindicated himself from the odious charges brought against him, and affirmed that he had ever abhorred the thought of adultery, or the seduction of the innocent;†—melancholy excesses! then too common:—"I call to witness," he added, "all with whom I ever lived."‡

On the 11th of December the election took place. Zwingle was chosen by a majority of seventeen out of twenty-four votes. The time had come for the Reformation to arise in Switzerland. The chosen instrument that Providence had been for three years preparing in the seclusion of Einsidlen was ready, and was to be transferred to another scene. God, who had made choice of the rising university of Wittemberg, situate in the heart of Germany, under the protection of the wisest of princes, *there* to call Luther,—made choice of Zurich, esteemed the chief town of Helvetia, there to fix Zwingle. At Zurich he would be in communication not merely with the most intelligent and simple-minded, the most resolute and energetic, of the Swiss population, but also

vero non paucos, heu! cecidi et factus sum canis ad vomitum. (Zw. Epp. p. 55.)

* En cum verecundia (Deus novit!) magna hæc ex pectoris specubus depromsi, apud eum scilicet cum quo etiam coram minus quam cum ullo ferme mortalium confiteri vererer. (Ibid. p. 55.)

† Ea ratio nobis perpetuo fuit, nec alienum thorum conscendere, nec virginem vitiare. (Ibid.)

‡ Testes invoco cunctos, quibuscum vixi. (Ibid.)

with the various cantons that lay around that ancient and influential state. The hand that had taken up a poor herdsman of mount Sentis, and placed him in a preparatory school,—now established him, mighty in word and deed, in the face of all his nation, that he might become the instrument of its regeneration. Zurich was to become the focus of illumination for the whole of Switzerland.

To the inmates of Einsidlen, the day on which they received the tidings of Zwingle's nomination was a day of rejoicing and grief intermingled. The society which had been formed there was about to be broken up by the removal of its most valuable member; and who could tell whether superstition might not again assert her sway over that ancient haunt of the pilgrim? The Council of Schwitz transmitted to Ulric an address, expressive of their sentiments, in which they styled him "their reverend, learned, and very gracious master and worthy friend."* "Choose for us at least a successor worthy of yourself," said Geroldsek to Zwingle. "I have a little *lion* for you," he replied, "who is both simple-hearted and wise; a man conversant with the mysteries of Holy Writ." "I will have him," said the administrator immediately. This was Leo Juda, that mild yet intrepid man, with whom Zwingle had contracted so close a fellowship at Bale. Leo Juda accepted a charge which brought him nearer to his beloved Ulric. The latter, after embracing his friends, bade farewell to the solitude of Einsidlen,

* Reverende, perdocte, admodum gratiose domine ac bone amice. (Zw. Epp. p. 60.)

and pursued his journey to that delightful region, where the cheerful and goodly city of Zurich is seated, amidst an amphitheatre of gentle hills, whose sides are clothed with vineyards, and their feet bedecked with meadows and orchards, while over their wooded crests are descried the lofty summits of the distant Albis. Zurich, the political centre of Switzerland, where the leading men of the nation were frequently assembled, was a point from which the Helvetic territory might be acted on, and the seeds of truth scattered over the whole of the cantons. Accordingly the friends of literature and of the Gospel hailed the election of Zwingle with their heartiest acclamations. At Paris, especially, the Swiss students, who were a numerous body there, were transported with joy at the tidings.* But if at Zurich, Zwingle had the prospect of a mighty victory opened to him, he had also to expect an arduous conflict. Glareanus wrote to him from Paris: "I foresee that your learning will excite a bitter hostility against you; but take courage, and, like Hercules, you will overcome all the monsters you have to encounter."†

It was on the 27th of December, 1518, that Zwingle arrived at Zurich; he alighted at the hotel of Einsidlen. His welcome was a cordial and honourable one.‡ The chapter immediately assembled to receive him, and he was invited to take his place

* Omnes adeò quotquot ex Helvetiis adsunt juvenes fremere et gaudere. (Zw. Epp. p. 63.)

† Quantum invidiæ tibi inter istos eruditio tua conflabit. (Ibid. p. 64.)

‡ Do er ehrlich und wol empfangen ward. (Bullinger, MS.)

among his colleagues. Felix Frey presided; the canons, whether friendly or hostile to Zwingle, were seated indiscriminately round their principal. There was a general excitement throughout the assembly; every one felt, though probably he knew not why, that this new appointment was likely to have momentous results. As the innovating spirit of the young priest was regarded with apprehension, it was agreed that the most important of the duties attached to his new office should be distinctly pointed out to him. "You will use your utmost diligence," he was gravely admonished, "in collecting the revenues of the chapter,—not overlooking the smallest item. You will exhort the faithful, both from the pulpit and in the confessional, to pay all dues and tithes, and to testify by their offerings the love which they bear to the Church. You will be careful to increase the income that arises from the sick, from masses, and in general from all ecclesiastical ordinances." The chapter added: "As to the administration of the sacraments, preaching and personally watching over the flock,—these also are among the duties of the priest. But for the performance of these, you may employ a vicar to act in your stead,—especially in preaching. You are to administer the sacraments only to persons of distinction, and when especially called upon:—you are not allowed to administer them indiscriminately to people of all ranks."*

What regulations were these for Zwingle to subscribe to! Money! money! nothing but money! Was it then for this that Christ had appointed the

* Schulers Zwingli's Bildung, p. 227.

ministry? Prudence, however, stepped in to moderate his zeal; he knew that it is impossible for the seed to be dropped into the earth, and the tree to grow up, and the fruit to be gathered, all at once. Without offering any remarks on the charge that had been delivered to him, he modestly expressed the gratitude he felt for having been made the object of so honourable a choice, and then proceeded to explain what were his intentions. "The history of Jesus," said he, "has been too long kept out of the people's view. It is my purpose to lecture upon the whole of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, drawing from the fountains of Scripture alone,* sounding all its depths, comparing text with text, and putting up earnest and unceasing prayers, that I may be permitted to discover what is the mind of the Holy Spirit.† It is to the glory of God, to the praise of his only Son, to the salvation of souls, and their instruction in the true faith, that I desire to consecrate my ministry.‡" Language, so new to their ears, made a deep impression on the chapter. Some heard it with joy; but the greater part signified their disapproval of it.§ "This method of preaching is an innovation," cried they; "one innovation will soon lead to another;—and where can we stop?" The canon Hoffman, especially, thought

* Absque humanis commentationibus, ex solis fontibus Scripturæ sacræ. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 273.)

† Sed mente spiritus, quam diligenti Scripturarum collatione, precibusque ex corde fusis, se nacturum. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

‡ Alles Gott und seinen einigen Sohn zu Lob und Ehren und zu rechten Heil der Seelen, zur Underrichtung im rechten Glauben. (Bullinger, MS.)

§ Quibus auditis, mœror simul et lætitia. (Osw. Myc.)

it his duty to prevent the fatal effects of an appointment which he had himself promoted. "This expounding of Scripture," said he, "will do the people more harm than good."—"It is no new method," replied Zwingle, "it is the old one. Recollect St. Chrysostom's homilies upon Matthew, and St. Augustine's upon John. Besides, I will be cautious in all that I say, and give no one cause to complain."

In abandoning the exclusive use of detached portions of the Gospels merely, Zwingle was departing from the practice that had prevailed since the days of Charlemagne, and restoring the Holy Scriptures to their ancient rights; he was connecting the Reformation, even in the beginning of his ministry, with the primitive times of Christianity, and preparing for future ages a deeper study of the Word of God. But more than this: the firm and independent posture which he assumed in relation to the Church, gave intimation that his aim was extraordinary: his character as a Reformer began now to manifest itself distinctly to the eyes of his countrymen; and the Reformation consequently moved a step onward.

Hoffman, having failed in the chapter, addressed a written request to the principal, that he would prohibit Zwingle from disturbing the people in their faith. The principal sent for the new preacher, and spoke to him in a very affectionate tone. But no human power could seal his lips. On the 31st of December, he wrote to the Council of Glaris, that he entirely relinquished the cure of souls, which, by their favour, he had hitherto retained; and for the future he dedicated himself entirely to

Zurich, and the work which God was preparing for him in that city.

On Saturday, the first of January, 1519, Zwingle, having on that day completed his thirty-fifth year, ascended the pulpit of the cathedral. The church was filled by a numerous assemblage of persons desirous to see a man who had already acquired celebrity, and to hear that new Gospel of which every one was beginning to speak. "It is to Christ," said Zwingle, "that I wish to guide you,—to Christ, the true spring of salvation. This divine word is the only food that I seek to minister to your hearts and souls." He then announced that on the following day, the first Sunday of the year, he would begin to explain the Gospel according to Saint Matthew. On the morrow, accordingly, the preacher, and a still more numerous auditory, were assembled in their places. Zwingle opened the Gospel, the book that had so long been sealed, and read the first page. Passing under review the history of the Patriarchs and Prophets (from the first chapter of Matthew), he expounded it in such a manner, that all exclaimed in astonishment and delight—"We never heard the like of this before!"*

He continued in this way to explain the whole of St. Matthew according to the Greek original. He showed how the explanation and the application of the Bible were both to be found in the very nature of man. Setting forth the sublimest truths of the Gospel in familiar language; his preaching adapted itself to every class,—to the wise and

* Dessgleichen wie jederman redt, nie gehört worden war. (B. Weise, a contemporary of Zwingle's, Füsslin Beytrage, iv. 36.)

learned, as well as the ignorant and simple.* He magnified the infinite mercies of God the Father, while he besought his hearers to put their trust in Jesus Christ as the only Saviour.† At the same time that he called them to repentance by the most persuasive appeals, he combated the errors which prevailed among his countrymen by the most vigorous reasoning. He raised a fearless voice against luxury, intemperance, extravagance in dress, injustice to the poor, idleness, mercenary service in war, and the acceptance of pensions from foreign princes. "In the pulpit," says one of his contemporaries, "he spared no one, neither Pope, nor Emperor, nor Kings, nor Dukes, nor Princes, nor Lords, not even the Confederates. All the strength and all the joy of his own heart were in God; therefore he exhorted the whole city of Zurich to trust in none but Him."‡—"Never before had any man been heard to speak with so much authority," says Oswald Myconius, who watched the labours of his friend with joy and ardent hope.

It was impossible that the Gospel could be proclaimed in Zurich without effect. A great and continually increasing multitude of every class, but especially of the lower orders, flocked to hear it.§

* Nam ita simplices æqualiter cum prudentissimis et acutissimis quibusque proficiebant. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

† In welchem er Gott den Vater prysset und alle Menschen allein uff Jessum Christum, als den einigen Heiland verthrauwen lehrte. (Bullinger, MS.)

‡ All sein Trost stuhnd allein mit frölichem Gemüth zu Gott . . . (B. Weise Füsslin Beytr. iv. 36.)

§ Do ward bald ein gross gelaüff von allerley menschen, Innsonders von dem gemeinen Mann . . . . (Bullinger, MS.)

Many of the citizens of Zurich had ceased to attend public worship. "I derive no benefit from the discourses of these priests," was the frequent observation of Füsslin, a poet and historian, as well as a councillor of state;—"they do not preach the things pertaining to salvation; for they understand them not. Avarice and voluptuousness are the only qualities I discover in them." Henry Räuschlin, the state-treasurer, a diligent reader of the Scriptures, entertained the same sentiments. "The priests," said he, "gathered together by thousands at the Council of Constance . . . . to burn the best man among them all." These distinguished men, attracted by curiosity, came to hear Zwingle's first lecture. The emotions which the preacher awakened in their minds, were successively depicted in their countenances. "Glory be to God," said they as they left the church; "this is a preacher of the truth. He will be our Moses to lead us forth from Egypt."* From that hour they became the intimate friends of the Reformer. "Ye rulers of this world," said Füsslin, "cease to persecute the doctrine of Christ. After Christ the Son of God had been put to death, fishermen were raised up to publish his Gospel. And so now, if you destroy the preachers of the truth, you will see glass-workers, and millers, and potters, and founders, and shoemakers, and tailors, starting up to teach in their stead."†

* Und unser Moses seyn der uns Egypten führt. (Bullinger, MS.)

† Werden die Gläser, Müller, Hafner, Giesser, Schuhmacher und Schneider lehren. (Mull. Reliq. iii. p. 185.)

At first there was but one cry of admiration throughout Zurich, but when the first burst of enthusiasm had subsided, the enemy took heart again. Many well-meaning men, alarmed by the thought of a Reformation, gradually fell away from Zwingle. The violence of the monks, which for a brief space had been suppressed, now broke out anew, and the college of the canons resounded with complaints. Zwingle remained immoveable. His friends, as they contemplated his courage, recognised in their teacher the true spirit of the apostolic age.* Among his enemies there were some who jeered and mocked at him, others who resorted to insulting threats; but he endured all with the patience of a Christian.† "If we would win souls to Christ," he often remarked, "we must learn to shut our eyes against many things that meet us in our way."‡ An admirable saying, which ought not to pass unnoted.

His character, and his habitual deportment towards his fellow-men, contributed as much as his public ministrations to gain all hearts. He was at once a true Christian and a true republican. The equality of mankind was with him no unmeaning phrase; it was inscribed on his heart, and his life was in accordance with it. He had neither that pharisaical pride nor that monkish coarseness by which men of simple and of refined taste are alike

* Nobis apostolici illius sæculi virum repræsentas. (Zw. Epp. p. 74.)

† Obganniunt quidam, rident, minantur, petulanter incessunt . . . at tu vere, Christianâ patientiâ, suffers omnia. (Ibid. 7th May, 1519.)

‡ Connivendum ad multa ei qui velit malos Christo lucri facere . . . . (Ibid.)

disgusted; all acknowledged the attraction of his manner, and found themselves at ease in his society. Bold and energetic in the pulpit, he was affable to those whom he met in the streets or public walks; he was often seen in the places where the civic companies or trading bodies held their meetings, explaining to the burghers the leading articles of the Christian faith, or holding familiar conversation with them. He accosted peasants and patricians with the same cordiality. "He invited the country-folks to dinner," says one of his most violent enemies, "walked with them, talked to them about God, and often put the devil into their hearts, and his own writings into their pockets." His example had such weight, that even the town-councillors of Zurich would visit those rustic strangers, supply them with refreshment, go about the city with them, and pay them all possible attention."*

He continued to cultivate music, though "with moderation," as Bullinger assures us; nevertheless the adversaries of the Gospel took advantage of this, and called him "the evangelical lute-player and piper."† Faber, on one occasion, reproved him for indulging in this recreation. "My dear Faber," replied Zwingle, with manly frankness, "thou knowest not what music is. I do not deny that I have learned to play the lute and the violin, and other instruments; and at worst, they serve me to quiet little children when they cry;‡ but as for

* Dass der Rath gemeldete Bauern besucht . . . . (Salat's Chronik. p. 155.)

† Der Lauthenschlager und evangelischer pfyffer. (Bullinger, MS.)

‡ Dass kombt mir ja wol die kind zu geschweigen. (Ibid.)

thee, thou art too holy for music!—and dost thou not know, then, that David was a cunning player on the harp, and how he chased the evil spirit out of Saul? Oh! if thy ears were but awake to the notes of the celestial lute, the evil spirit of ambition and greediness of wealth, by which thou art possessed, would in like manner depart from thee." Perhaps there was something of weakness in Zwingle's attachment to music; yet it was in a spirit of open-heartedness, and evangelical liberty, that he cultivated an art which religion has always connected with her loftiest exercises. He composed the music of several of his Christian lyrics, and was not ashamed sometimes to touch his lute for the amusement of the little ones of his flock. He displayed the same kindly disposition in his demeanour towards the poor. "He ate and drank," says one of his contemporaries, "with all who invited him; he treated no one with disdain,—he was full of compassion for the poor, and always composed and cheerful in good or evil fortune. No calamity ever daunted him, his speech was ever hopeful,—his heart ever stedfast."* Thus did Zwingle continually enlarge the sphere of his influence,—sitting alternately at the poor man's scanty board, and the banquet-table of the great, as his Master had done before him,—and never, in any situation, omitting an opportunity to further the work with which God had entrusted him.

From the same motive he was indefatigable in

* War allwegen trostlichen Gemüths und tapferer Red. (B. Weisse Füssl. Beytr. iv. p. 36.)

study. From sun-rise until the hour of ten he employed himself in reading, writing, or translating; the Hebrew especially during that portion of the day occupied much of his attention. After dinner he gave audience to those who had any communication to make to him, or stood in any need of his advice; he walked out in company with his friends, and visited his people. At two o'clock he resumed his walk. He took a short turn after supper, and then began writing letters, which often engaged him till midnight. He always read and wrote standing, and never allowed the customary allotment of his time to be disturbed, except for some very important cause.*

But the efforts of one man were not enough. He received a visit about this time from a stranger named Lucian, who brought with him some of the works of the German Reformer. Rhenanus, a scholar then resident at Bale, and an unwearied propagator of Luther's writings in Switzerland, had sent this man to Zwingle. It had occurred to Rhenanus that the hawking of books might be made a powerful means of spreading the doctrines of the Gospel. "Ascertain," said Rhenanus to Zwingle, "whether this Lucian possesses a sufficient share of discretion and address; if it shall appear that he does, let him go from city to city, from town to town, from village to village, nay from house to house,—all over Switzerland, carrying with him the writings of Luther, and especially the exposi-

* Certas studiis vindicans horas, quas etiam non omisit, nisi seriis coactus. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

tion of the Lord's Prayer, written for the laity.* The more it is known, the more purchasers will it find. But be sure to let him take no other books in his pack, for if he have none but Luther's, he will sell them the faster." To this expedient was many a Swiss family indebted for the gleam of light that found an entrance into their humble dwelling. There was one book, however, which Zwingle should have caused to be circulated before any of Luther's, —the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

An opportunity of displaying his zeal in a new field of service was soon afforded him. Samson, the famous dealer in indulgences, was journeying by slow stages toward Zurich. This vendor of disreputable wares had arrived from Schwitz at Zug on the 20th of September, 1518, and had remained at Zug three days. An immense crowd had gathered about him in that town. Those of the poorest class were the most eager of the throng, and thus prevented the rich from making their way to him. This did not suit the monk's purpose, and accordingly one of his attendants kept crying out to the populace:—"Good people do not press forward so hard. Clear the way for those who have money. We will do our best afterwards to satisfy those who have none." From Zug, Samson and his company went on to Lucerne,—from Lucerne to Unterwalden,—and thence, passing through a cultivated region of the Alps, with its rich interjacent villages, —skirting the everlasting snows of the Oberland,— and displaying their Romish merchandise for sale

* . . . Oppidatim, municipatim, vicatim, imo domesticatim per Helvetios circumferat. (Zw. Epp. p. 81.)

in every inhabited spot of the loveliest district of Switzerland,—they arrived at length in the neighbourhood of Berne. At first, the monk received an intimation that he would not be allowed to enter the city? but eventually, by the aid of some interested auxiliaries within, he succeeded in gaining admission, and spread out his stall in St. Vincent's church. He there began to cry up his wares more loudly than ever. "Here," said he to the rich, "are indulgences on parchment, for one crown!—There," addressing himself to the poor, "are absolutions on common paper, for two batz only!" One day, a knight of high name, Jacob von Stein, presented himself before him, mounted on a prancing dapple-grey charger. "Give me," said the knight, "an indulgence for myself; for my troop, which is five hundred strong;—for all the vassals on my domain of Belp; and for all my ancestors; and I will give you in return this dapple-grey horse of mine." It was a high price to ask for a *horse.* Nevertheless, the charger pleased the barefooted Carmelite. The bargain was struck, the beast was led into the monk's stable, and all those souls were duly declared to have been delivered for ever from the pains of hell!* On another occasion, a burgher obtained from him for thirteen florins an indulgence, by virtue of which, his confessor was authorized to absolve him, among other things, from every kind of perjury.† Samson was held in such reverence, that the counsellor, Von May, an old

* Um einem Kuttgrowen Hengst. (Anshelm, V. 335: J. J. Hotting. Helv. K. Gesch. iii. 29.)

† A quovis perjurio. (Muller's Reliq. iv. 403.)

man of enlightened mind, having dropped some expressions against him, was obliged to ask pardon of the haughty monk on his knees.

The last day of his stay had now arrived. A deafening clamour of bells gave warning to the inhabitants of Berne that the monk was about to take his departure. Samson was in the church, standing on the steps of the high altar. The canon, Henry Lupulus, Zwingle's former master, officiated as his interpreter. "When the wolf and the fox come abroad together," said the canon Anselm, addressing the Schultheiss von Watteville, "the wisest plan for you, worshipful Sir, is to gather your sheep and your geese with all speed into a place of safety." But the monk cared little for such remarks as these, which, moreover, seldom reached his ears. "Fall on your knees," said he to the superstitious crowd; "repeat three *pater nosters* and three *ave marias*, and your souls will instantly be as pure as they were at the moment of your baptism." The multitude fell on their knees forthwith. Then determined to outdo himself, Samson cried out, "I deliver from the torments of purgatory and hell the souls of all the people of Berne who have departed this life, whatsoever may have been the manner or the place of their death." These mountebanks, like those who perform at fairs, always reserved their most astounding feat for the last.

Samson, now heavily laden with coin, directed his course towards Zurich, through the Argan and Baden. As he proceeded on his journey this Carmelite, who had made so sorry a figure when he first crossed the Alps, displayed an increasing pomp and

pride of retinue. The Bishop of Constance, having taken umbrage because he had not applied to him to legalize his bulls, had forbidden all the curates of his diocese to open their churches to him. At Baden, however, the curate did not venture to persevere in obstructing the holy traffic. The monk's effrontery rose to a higher pitch. Pacing round the church-yard at the head of a procession, he used to fix his eyes on some object in the air, while his acolytes were chaunting the hymn for the dead, and pretending that he saw the liberated souls flying up from the church-yard towards heaven, to cry out: "*Ecce volant!* Behold! they fly!" One day a man, residing in the neighbourhood, found his way into the tower of the church and mounted to the belfry; presently a quantity of white feathers floated in the air, and fell thickly on the astonished procession: "Behold! they fly!" cried the waggish citizen of Baden, from his lofty perch, still shaking more feathers, out of a pillow that he had unripped. Many of the bystanders laughed heartily at the jest.* Samson, on the contrary, was greatly incensed,—nor could he be appeased until assurances were given him that the man was at times disordered in his intellect. He left Baden quite crest-fallen.

Pursuing his journey, he arrived about the end of February, 1519, at Bremgarten, whither he had been invited by the Schultheiss, and the second curate of the town, both of whom had seen him at Baden. The dean of Bremgarten, Bullinger, was a man, than whom none, in all that country, stood higher in public estimation. He was but ill-informed, it

* Dessen viel luth gnug lachten. (Bullinger, MS.)

is true, as to the errors of the Church, and imperfectly acquainted with the word of God;—but his frank disposition, his overflowing zeal, his eloquence, his liberality to the poor, his willingness to do kind offices for his humble neighbours, made him universally beloved. In his youth he had formed a connection of a conscientious kind with the daughter of a councillor of the same town. Such was the custom with those members of the priesthood, who wished to avoid a life of profligacy. Anna had brought him five children, and his numerous family had in no degree diminished the consideration in which the Dean was held. There was not in all Switzerland a more hospitable house than his. Being much addicted to the chase, he was often seen, surrounded by ten or a dozen dogs, and accompanied by the lords of Hallwyll, the abbot of Mury, and the patricians of Zurich, scouring the fields and forests in his vicinity. He kept open house, and not one among all his guests was a blither man than himself. When the deputies, who were sent to the Diet, passed through Bremgarten, on their way to Baden, they never failed to take their seats at the Dean's table. "Bullinger," said they, "keeps court like some powerful baron."

Strangers, when they visited the house, were sure to remark a boy of intelligent aspect, whom they found among its inmates. This was Henry, one of the Dean's sons. The child in his earliest years had passed through many imminent perils. He had been seized with the plague, and reduced to such extremity, that he was thought to be dead,—and prepara-

tions were making for his burial, when, to the joy of his parents, he gave signs that he was yet alive. At another time, a vagrant enticed him from the house, and was carrying him off, when some passers-by recognised and rescued him. At the age of three years, he already knew the Lord's prayer and the Apostles' creed; and would often steal into the church, mount his father's pulpit, gravely stand up there, and repeat at the full pitch of his voice, "I believe in God the Father, &c. &c." When he was twelve years old, his parents sent him to the grammar school of Emmeric,—not without feelings of strong apprehension,—for those were dangerous times for an inexperienced boy. Instances were frequent of students, to whom the discipline of a university appeared too severe, absconding from their college in troops, carrying children along with them, and encamping in the woods,—whence they sent out the youngest of their party to beg,—or else, with arms in their hands, attacked travellers, plundered them, and then consumed the fruit of their rapine in debauchery. Henry was happily preserved from evil in his new and distant abode. Like Luther, he gained his subsistence by singing at the doors of houses, for his father was resolved that he should learn to depend on his own resources. He had reached the age of sixteen when he first opened a New Testament. "I there found," said he, "all that is necessary for man's salvation, and from that hour I came to the conclusion that we must follow the Holy Scriptures alone, and reject all human additions. I neither trust the Fathers, nor myself;

but I explain Scripture by Scripture, adding nothing, and taking nothing away."* God was in this way training up the youth, who was afterwards to be the successor of Zwingle. He is the author of that manuscript chronicle from which we so frequently quote.

It was about this time that Samson arrived at Bremgarten, with all his train. The stout-hearted Dean, not in the least intimidated by this little army of Italians, gave notice to the monk that he must not vend his merchandise within his jurisdiction. The Schultheiss, the town-council, and the second pastor, all friends of Samson, were assembled in a room of the inn, where the latter had taken up his quarters, and clustered in much perplexity round the irritated monk. The Dean entered the chamber. "Here are the Pope's bulls!" said the monk, "open your church to me!"

The Dean. "I will suffer no one, under colour of unauthenticated letters like these (for the bishop has not legalized them,) to squeeze the purses of my parishioners."

The Monk, *in a solemn tone.* "The Pope is above the bishop. I charge you not to deprive your flock of so marvellous a grace."

The Dean. "Were it to cost me my life,—I will not open my church."

The Monk, *in great anger.* "Rebellious priest! in the name of our most holy lord, the Pope, I pronounce against thee the greater excommunication,—nor will I grant thee absolution until thou hast paid

* Bulling. Epp. Franz's Merkw. Zuge, p. 19.

a penalty of three hundred ducats for this unheard-of presumption."

THE DEAN, *turning to go out again.* "I am prepared to answer for myself before my lawful judges; as for thee, and thy excommunication, I have nothing to do with either."

THE MONK, *transported with rage.* "Headstrong beast that thou art! I am going straight to Zurich, and there I will lodge my complaint with the deputies of the Confederation."*

THE DEAN. "I can show myself there as well as thou, and thither will I go."

While these things were passing at Bremgarten, Zwingle, who saw the enemy gradually draw nigh, was preaching with great vigour against indulgences.† The vicar, Faber of Constance, encouraged him in this, and promised him the support of the bishop.‡ "I know," said Samson, on his road to Zurich, "that Zwingle will speak against me, but I will stop his mouth." Assuredly, Zwingle felt too deeply the sweetness of the pardoning grace of Christ to refrain from attacking the paper pardons of these presumptuous men. Like Luther, he often trembled on account of sin; but in the Saviour he found deliverance from his fears. Humble, yet strong-minded, he was continually advancing in the knowledge of the Lord. "When Satan," said he,

* Du freche Bestie . . &c. (Bullinger, MS.)

† Ich predgete streng wider der Pabsts Ablass . . . (Zw. Opp. 2. 1st part. p. 7.)

‡ Und hat mich darin gestärkt: er welle mir mit aller trüw byston. (Ibid.)

"attempts to terrify me, crying aloud: Lo! this and that thou hast left undone, though God has commanded it!—the gentle voice of the Gospel brings me instant comfort, for it whispers: What thou canst not do (and of a truth thou canst do nothing),—*that* Christ does for thee, and does it thoroughly." "Yes!" continued the pious evangelist, "when my heart is wrung with anguish by reason of my impotence, and the weakness of the flesh, my spirit revives at the sound of these joyful words: Christ is thy sinlessness! Christ is thy righteousness! Christ is the Alpha and the Omega; Christ is the beginning and the end; Christ is all; he can do all!* All created things will disappoint and deceive thee; but Christ, the sinless and the righteous, will accept thee."—"Yes, it is He," exclaimed Zwingle, "who is our righteousness, and the righteousness of all those who shall appear as righteous for ever before the throne of God!"

Confronted by truths like these, the indulgences could never stand: Zwingle therefore hesitated not to attack them. "No man," said he, "has power to remit sins,—except Christ alone, who is very God and very man in one.† Go, if thou wilt and buy indulgences. But be assured, that thou art in nowise absolved. They who sell the remission of sins for money, are but companions of Simon the magician, the friends of Balaam, the ambassadors of Satan."

* Christus est innocentia tua; Christus est justitia et puritas tua; Christus est salus tua; tu nihil es, tu nihil potes; Christus est A et Ω; Christus est prora et puppis; Christus est omnia . . .(Zw. Opp. i. p. 207.)

† Nisi Christus Jesus, verus Deus et verus homo. . . . (Ibid. p. 412.)

The worthy Dean Bullinger, still heated by his altercation with the monk, arrived before him at Zurich. He came to lay a complaint before the Diet against the shameless trafficker, and his fraudulent trade. Deputies sent by the bishop on the same errand were already on the spot, with whom he made common cause. Assurances of support were proffered him on all hands. The same spirit which animated Zwingle, was now breathing over the whole city. The council of state resolved to prohibit the monk from entering Zurich.

Samson had arrived in the suburbs, and alighted at an inn. Already he had his foot in the stirrup to make his entry into the city, when he was accosted by messengers from the council, who offered him the honorary wine-cup, as an agent of the Pope, and at the same time intimated to him that he might forego his intention of appearing in Zurich. "I have somewhat to communicate to the Diet, in the name of his Holiness," replied the monk. This was only a stratagem. It was determined, however, that he should be admitted; but as he spoke of nothing but his bulls, he was dismissed, after having been forced to withdraw the excommunication he had pronounced against the Dean of Bremgarten. He departed in high dudgeon; and soon after the Pope recalled him into Italy. A cart, drawn by three horses, and loaded with coin, obtained under false pretences from the poor, rolled before him over those steep roads of the St. Gothard, along which he had passed eight months before, indigent, unattended, and encumbere by no burthen save his papers.*

* Und führt mit ihm ein threspendiger Schatz an gelt den er armen lüthen abgelogen hat. (Bullinger, MS.)

The Helvetic Diet shewed more resolution at this time than the Diet of Germany. The reason was that no bishops or cardinals had seats in it. And accordingly the Pope, unsupported by those auxiliaries, was more guarded in his proceedings towards Switzerland than towards Germany. Besides this, the affair of the indulgences, which occupies so prominent a place in the narrative of the German Reformation, forms but an episode in the history of the Reformation in Switzerland.

Zwingle's zeal overlooked all considerations of personal ease or health; but continued toil at last rendered relaxation necessary. He was ordered to repair to the baths of Pfeffers. "Oh!" said Herus, one of the pupils resident in his house, who in this parting salutation gave utterance to a feeling which was shared by all to whom Zwingle was known, "had I a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and a voice of iron, as Virgil says—or rather, had I the eloquence of Cicero, never could I express how much I owe you, or how much pain I suffer from this separation."* Zwingle, however, was constrained to go. His journey to Pfeffers led him through the frightful gorge formed by the impetuous torrent of the Jamina. He descended into that 'infernal gulf,' to use the phrase of Daniel the hermit, and reached the baths of which he was in quest,—a site continually shaken by the din of the tumbling torrent, and moistened by the cloud of spray that rises from its shattered waters. In the house in which

* Etiamsi mihi sint linguæ centum, sint oraque centum, ferrea vox, ut Virgilius ait, aut potius Ciceroniana eloquentia. (Zw. Ep. p. 84.)

Zwingle was lodged, it was necessary to burn torches at noon-day; and it was the belief of the neighbourhood that fearful spectres might sometimes be descried gliding to and fro amidst the darkness: and yet even here he found an opportunity of serving his Master. His affability won the hearts of many of the invalids assembled at the baths. Of this number was the celebrated poet, Philip Ingentinus, a professor of Friburg, in the Brisgau,* who from that time became a strenuous supporter of the Reformation.

God was watching over his work, and it was his will to hasten it. The defect of Zwingle consisted in his strength. Strong in bodily constitution, strong in character, strong in talent, he was destined to see all his strength laid low in the dust, that he might become such an instrument as God loves best to employ. There was a baptism with which he yet needed to be baptized,—the baptism of adversity, infirmity, weakness, and pain. Luther had received it in that season of anguish when piercing cries burst forth from his narrow cell, and echoed through the long corridors of the convent at Erfurth. Zwingle was to receive it by being brought into contact with sickness and death. In the history of the heroes of this world,—of such men as Charles XII. or Napoleon,—there is always a critical moment which shapes their career and ensures their future glory; it is that in which a consciousness of their own strength is suddenly imparted to them. And a moment not less decisive than this,—though stamped

* Illic tum comitatem tuam è sinu uberrimo profluentem non injucundè sum expertus. (Zw. Epp. p. 119.)

with an impress *altogether different*,—is to be found in the life of every heroic servant *of God*;—it is that moment in which he first recognizes his absolute helplessness and nothingness;—then it is that the strength of God is communicated to him from on high. A work such as that which Zwingle was called to perform is never accomplished in the natural strength of man; it would in that case come to nought, just as a tree must wither which is planted in its full maturity and vigour. The plant must be weak, or its roots will never strike; the grain must die in the earth, or it cannot bring forth much fruit. God was about to lead Zwingle, and with him the work which seemed to be dependent on him for success,—to the very gates of the grave. It is from amidst the dry bones, the darkness and the dust of death, that God delights to raise His instruments, when He designs to scatter light and regeneration and vitality over the face of the earth.

While Zwingle was buried among the stupendous rocks that overhang the headlong torrent of the Jamina, he suddenly received intelligence that the plague, or the "*great death*,"* as it was called, had visited Zurich. This terrible malady broke out in August, on Saint Lawrence's day, and lasted till Candlemas, sweeping away during that period no fewer than two thousand five hundred souls. The young people who resided under Zwingle's roof had immediately quitted it, according to the directions he had left behind him. His house was deserted therefore—but it was his time to return to it. He

* Der Grosse Tod. (Bullinger, MS.)

set out from Pfeffers in all haste, and appeared once more among his flock, which the disease had grievously thinned. His young brother Andrew, who would gladly have stayed to attend upon him, he sent back at once to Wildhaus, and from that moment gave himself up entirely to the victims of that dreadful scourge. It was his daily task to testify of Christ and his consolations to the sick.* His friends, while they rejoiced to see him still unharmed, while the arrows of pestilence were flying thick around him,† were visited nevertheless with many secret misgivings on his account. "Do good," was the language of a letter written to him from Bale, by Conrad Brunner, who himself died of the plague a few months afterwards;—"but at the same time be advised to take care of your own life." The caution came too late; Zwingle had been seized by the plague. The great preacher of Switzerland was stretched upon a bed from which it was probable he might never rise. He now turned his thoughts upon the state of his own soul, and lifted up his eyes to God. He knew that Christ had given him a sure inheritance; and pouring forth the feelings of his heart in a hymn full of unction and simplicity,—the sense and the rhythm of which we will endea-

* Ut in majori periculo sis quod in dies de novo exponas, dum invisis ægrotis. (Bullinger, MS.) M. de Chateaubriand had forgotten this fact, and a thousand similar ones, when he remarked that "the Protestant pastor abandons the helpless on the bed of death, and is never seen rushing into the grasp of the pestilence." (Essay on English Literature.)

† Plurimum gaudeo te inter tot jactus telorum versantem illæsum hactenus evasisse. (Ibid.)

vour to exhibit, though we should fail in the attempt to copy its natural and primitive cast of language,— he cried aloud:

Lo! at my door
Gaunt death I spy;*
Hear, Lord of life.
Thy creature's cry!

The arm that hung
Upon the tree,
Jesus, uplift—
And rescue me.

Yet, if to quench
My sun at noon
Be thy behest,†
Thy will be done!

In faith and hope
Earth I resign,
Secure of heaven,—
For I am thine!

The disease, in the mean time, gained ground; his friends in deep affliction beheld the man on whom the hopes of Switzerland and of the Church reposed ready to be swallowed up by the grave. His bodily powers and natural faculties were forsaking him. His heart was smitten with dismay; yet he found strength sufficient left him to turn towards God, and to cry:

* Ich mein der Tod,
Syg an der Thür. (Zw. Opp. 2. 2nd. part. p. 270.)
† Willt du dann glych
Tod haben mich
In mitts der Tagen min
So soll's willig sin. (Ibid.)

Fierce grow my pains:
Help, Lord, in haste!
For flesh and heart
Are failing fast.

Clouds wrap my sight,
My tongue is dumb,
Lord, tarry not,
The hour is come!*

In Satan's grasp
On hell's dark brink
My spirit reels,—
Ah, must I sink?

No, Jesus, no!
Him I defy,
While here beneath
Thy cross I lie.

The Canon Hoffman, sincerely attached to the creed which he professed, could not bear the idea of seeing Zwingle die in the errors which he had inculcated. He waited on the principal of the chapter. "Think," said he, "of the peril of his soul. Has he not given the name of fantastical innovators to all the doctors who have taught for the last three hundred and eighty years and upwards—Alexander of Hales, Saint Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and all the canonists? Does he not affirm that the doctrines they have broached are no better than dreams into which they have fallen, with their hoods drawn over their eyes, in the gloomy corners of their cloisters?

* Nun ist es um
Min Zung ist stumm
. . . . . .
Darum ist Zyt
Das du min stryt.

Alas! it would have been better for the city of Zurich had he ruined our vintages and harvests for many a year; and now he is at death's door! I beseech you save his poor soul!" It would appear that the principal, more enlightened than the canon, did not think it necessary to convert Zwingle to St. Bonaventura and Albertus Magnus. He was left undisturbed.

Great was the consternation that prevailed throughout the city. The believers cried to God night and day, earnestly entreating that He would restore their faithful pastor.* The alarm had spread from Zurich to the mountains of the Tockenburg. Even in that elevated region the plague had made its appearance. Seven or eight persons had fallen a prey to it in the village; among these was a servant of Nicholas, Zwingle's brother.† No tidings were received from the Reformer. "Let me know," wrote young Andrew Zwingle, "what is thy state, my beloved brother! The abbot, and all our brothers salute thee." It would seem that Zwingle's parents were already dead, since they are not mentioned here.

The news of Zwingle's illness, followed by a report of his death, was circulated throughout Switzerland and Germany. "Alas!" exclaimed Hedio, in tears, "the deliverer of our country, the trumpet of the Gospel, the magnanimous herald of the truth is stricken with death in the flower and spring-tide

* Alle glaubige rufften Gott treuwillich an, dass er ihren getreuwen Hirten weider ufrichte. (Bullinger, MS.)

† Nicolas verò germano nostro etiam obiit servus suus, attamen non in ædibus suis. (Zw. Epp. 88.)

of his age!* When the intelligence reached Bale that Zwingle was no more, the whole city resounded with lamentations.†

But that glimmering spark of life which had been left unquenched, began now to burn more brightly. Though labouring still under great bodily weakness, his soul was impressed with a deep persuasion, that God had called him to replace the candle of His word on the deserted candlestick of the Church. The plague had relinquished its victim. With strong emotion Zwingle now exclaimed :—

My Father God,
Behold me whole!
Again on earth
A living soul!

Let sin no more
My heart annoy,
But fill it, Lord,
With holy joy.

Though now delayed,
My hour must come,
Involved, perchance,
In deeper gloom.‡

It matters not;
Rejoicing yet
I'll bear my yoke
To Heaven's bright gate.§

* Quis enim non doleat publicam patriæ salutem, tubam Evangelii, magnanimum veritatis buccinatorem languere, intercidere . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 90.)

† Heu quantum luctus fatis Zwinglium concessisse importunus ille rumor suo vehementi impetu divulgavit. (Ibid. p. 91.)

‡ These words were fulfilled in a remarkable manner, twelve years afterwards, on the bloody field of Cappel.

§ So will ich doch
Den trutz und poch

As soon as he was able to hold a pen, (it was about the beginning of November,) he wrote to his family. Unspeakable was the joy which his letter imparted* to all his relatives, but especially to his younger brother Andrew, who himself died of the plague in the course of the following year, leaving Ulric to lament his loss with tears and cries, surpassing the measure,—as he himself remarks,—even of a woman's passion.† At Bale, Conrad Brunner, Zwingle's friend, and Bruno Amerbach, the celebrated printer,—both young men,—had been carried to the grave after three days' illness. It was believed in that city that Zwingle also had perished. There was a general expression of grief throughout the university. "He whom God loves," said they, "is made perfect in the morning of life."‡ But what was their joy when tidings were brought, first by Collinus, a student from Lucerne, and afterwards by a merchant of Zurich, that Zwingle had been snatched from the brink of the grave.§ The

In diser welt
Tragen frölich
Um widergelt.

Although these three fragments of poetry have their respective dates attached to them, "at the beginning,—in the middle,—at the end—of the sickness," and truly represent the feelings of Zwingle at the different epochs, it is probable that they were not thrown into the form in which we now find them, until after his recovery.—(See Bullinger, MS.)

* Inspectis tuis litteris incredibilis quidam æstus lætitiæ pectus meum subiit. (Zw. Epp. p. 88.)

† Ejulatum et luctum plusquam fœmineum. (Ibid. 155.)

‡ Ὃν τε θεοὶ φιλέουσι νεανίσκος τελευτᾷ. (Ibid. p. 90.)

§ E diris te mortis faucibus feliciter ereptum negotiator quidam tigurinus. (Ibid. p. 91.)

vicar of the Bishop of Constance, John Faber, that early friend of Zwingle, who was afterwards his most violent opponent, wrote to him on this occasion:—"Oh, my beloved Ulric! what joy does it give me to learn that thou hast been delivered from the jaws of the cruel pestilence. When thy life is in jeopardy, the Christian commonwealth has cause to tremble. The Lord has seen it good by this trial to incite thee to a more earnest pursuit of eternal life."

This was indeed the end which the Lord had in view in subjecting Zwingle to trial, and the end was attained, but in another way than Faber contemplated. This pestilence of the year 1519, which committed such frightful ravages in the north of Switzerland, became an effectual agent in the hands of God for the conversion of many souls.* But on no one did it exercise so powerful an influence as on Zwingle. The Gospel which he had heretofore embraced as a mere doctrine, now became a great reality. He rose from the dark borders of the tomb with a new heart. His zeal became more ardent, his life more holy, his preaching more free, more Christian, more persuasive. This was the epoch of Zwingle's complete emancipation: henceforward he devoted himself entirely to God. But along with the Reformer, the Reformation, also, of Switzerland received new life. The scourge of God, "the great death," while it ranged over those mountains, and swept along those valleys, impressed a character of deeper holiness on the movement which was taking

* Als die Pestilenz im Jahre 1519, in dieser Gegend grassirte, viele neigten sich zu einem bessern Leben. (Georg. Vögelin. Ref. Hist. Füsslin Beytr. iv. 174.)

place within their bosom. The Reformation, as well as Zwingle, was immersed in the waters of sanctified affliction, and came forth endued with a purer and more vigorous vitality. It was a memorable season in the dispensations of God for the regeneration of the Swiss people.

Zwingle derived an accession of that strength, of which he stood so much in need, from his renewed communion with his friends. With Myconius especially he was united by the bonds of a strong affection. They walked side by side, each supporting the other, like Luther and Melancthon. Oswald was happy at Zurich. His position there was a constrained one, it is true; but the virtues of his modest wife made him amends for all his discomforts. It was of her that Glareanus said: "Could I meet a young woman resembling her, I would prefer her to a king's daughter." The enjoyment which Zwingle and Myconius found in their reciprocal friendship was sometimes broken in upon, however, by the voice of a faithful monitor. That monitor was the canon Xyloctect, who was continually calling on Myconius to return to Lucerne, the place of his birth. "Zurich is not thy country," said he, "but Lucerne. Thou sayest that the Zurichers are thy friends: I acknowledge it;—but canst thou tell how it will fare with thee when the shadows of evening begin to fall on thy path? Remember thy duty to thy country,*—such is my desire, my entreaty,—and if I may so speak, my command!" Following up his words by acts, Xy-

* Patriam cole, suadeo et obsecro, et si hoc possum jubeo. (Xyloctect Myconio.)

loctect caused Myconius to be elected rector of the collegiate school of his native city. Oswald then hesitated no longer; he saw the finger of God in this nomination, and great as was the sacrifice demanded of him, he resolved to make it. Might it not be the will of the Lord to employ him as His instrument in publishing the doctrine of peace in the warlike canton of Lucerne? But how shall we describe the parting between Zwingle and Myconius? On either side, their farewell was accompanied with tears. "Thy departure," observed Ulric in a letter written to Oswald shortly afterwards, "has been such a discouragement to the cause which I defend, as can only be compared to that which would be felt by an army drawn up in order of battle, were it suddenly deprived of one of its wings.* Alas! now I feel the value of my Myconius, and can perceive how often, when I dreamed not of it, he has upheld the cause of Christ!"

Zwingle felt the loss of his friend the more acutely, by reason of the debilitated state to which the plague had reduced him. "It has enfeebled my memory," he complains in a letter, dated 30th November, 1519, "and prostrated my spirits." While he was yet scarcely convalescent, he had resumed all his labours. "But," said he, "I often in preaching lose the thread of my discourse. My whole frame is oppressed with languor, and I am little better than a dead man." Besides this, Zwingle's opposition to indulgences had aroused the animosity of those who supported them. Oswald encouraged his friend

* Nam res meæ, te abeunte, non sunt minus accisæ quam si exercitui in procinctu stanti altera alarum abstergatur. (Zw. Epp. p. 98.)

by the letters he wrote to him from Lucerne. Was not the Lord, at this moment, giving a pledge of his readiness to help, by the protection which he afforded in Saxony to the mighty champion who had gained such signal victories over Rome? "What thinkest thou," said Myconius to Zwingle, "of the cause of Luther? For my part, I have no fear either for the Gospel or for him. If God does not protect his truth, by whom else shall it be protected? All that I ask of the Lord is, that he will not withdraw his hand from those who have nothing so dear to them as his Gospel. Go on as thou hast begun, and an abundant reward shall be bestowed upon thee in heaven."

The arrival of an old friend at this time brought some comfort to Zwingle, in his grief for the removal of Myconius. Bunzli, who had been Ulric's master at Bale, and who had since succeeded the Dean of Wesen, the Reformer's uncle, arrived at Zurich in the first week of the year 1520, and Zwingle and he formed the resolution of taking a journey to Bale together to see their common friends.* Zwingle's visit to Bale was not unproductive of good. "Oh, my dear Zwingle!" wrote John Glother, at a later period, "never shall I forget thee! My gratitude is thy due for the kindness displayed by thee during thy stay at Bale, in visiting me as thou didst,—me a poor schoolmaster, a man without name, without learning, without merit, and in a low condition. My affections thou hast won by that elegance of manners, that indescribable fascination, by which thou subduest all hearts,—

* Zw. Epp. p. 103 and 111.

and I might almost say the very stones."* But Zwingle's earlier friends derived still greater benefit from his visit. Capito and Hedio, with many others, were electrified by his powerful discourses; and the former, adopting the same course at Bale which Zwingle had pursued at Zurich, began to expound St. Matthew's Gospel to an auditory which continually increased in numbers. The doctrine of Christ manifested its power in searching and warming the heart. The people received it with joy, and hailed the revival of Christianity with eager acclamations.† The Reformation had already dawned. A proof of this was soon seen in a conspiracy of priests and monks, which was formed against Capito. Albert, the young Cardinal-archbishop of Mentz, who was desirous to attach so learned a man to his person, took advantage of this circumstance, and invited him to his court. Capito, seeing the difficulties with which he was surrounded, accepted the invitation.‡ The people thought themselves aggrieved, their indignation was roused against the priests, and the city was thrown into commotion.§ Hedio was spoken of as Capito's successor; but some objected to his youth, and others said:—"He is his disciple!" "The truth," said Hedio, "is of too pungent a quality. There are susceptible ears which it cannot fail to wound, and which are not to be wounded

* Morum tuorum elegantia, suavitasque incredibilis, quâ omnes tibi devincis, etiam lapides, ut sic dixerim. (Zw. Epp. p. 133.)

† Renascenti Christianismo mirum quam faveant. (Ibid. p. 120.)

‡ Cardinalis illic invitavit amplissimis conditionibus. (Ibid.)

§ Tumultus exoritur et maxima indignatio vulgi erga ἱερεῖς. (Ibid.)

with impunity.* No matter! I will not be turned aside from the straight road." The monks redoubled their efforts. "Beware," was their language in the pulpit, "of giving credence to those who tell you that the sum of Christian doctrine is to be found in the Gospels, and in the Epistles of St. Paul. Scotus has rendered greater service to Christianity than Paul himself. All the learning that has been preached and published has been stolen from Scotus. The utmost that certain persons have been able to achieve in their attempts to gain a reputation for themselves, has been to mix up a few words of Greek and Hebrew with his matter, so as to perplex and darken the whole."†

The tumult continued to increase; there was reason to fear that after Capito's departure, the opposition would become still more powerful. "I shall be left almost alone, weak and insignificant as I am," said Hedio, "to struggle with those formidable monsters."‡ In this emergency he betook himself to God for succour;—and in a letter to Zwingle expressed himself thus:—"Support my courage by frequent letters. Learning and religion are now between the hammer and the anvil. Luther has been condemned by the universities of Louvain and Cologne. If ever the church was in imminent peril, she is so at this hour!"§

* Auriculas teneras mordaci radere vero non usque adeo tutum est. (Zw. Epp. p. 120.)

† Scotum plus profuisse rei Christianæ quam ipsum Paulum . . . quicquid eruditum furatum ex Scoto. (Ibid.)

‡ Cum pestilentissimis monstris. (Ibid. p. 121.)

§ Si unquam imminebat periculum, jam imminet. (Ibid. 17th March, 1520.)

Capito quitted Bale for Mentz on the 28th of April; and Hedio succeeded him. Not content with the public assemblies which were held in the Church, where he continued the lectures on Saint Matthew, he resolved, as he wrote to Luther, to institute, in the ensuing month of June, private meetings in his own house, that he might impart more familiar instruction in the Gospel to such as should desire it. This powerful method of communicating religious knowledge, and awakening the concern and affection of believers for divine things, could not fail on this, as on every occasion, to excite the concurrent opposition of worldly-minded laymen, and an arrogant priesthood,—classes which are equally inimical, though on different grounds, to every attempt to worship God anywhere but within the enclosure of certain walls. But Hedio was not to be driven from his purpose.

About the period when he conceived this praiseworthy design at Bale, there arrived at Zurich one of those characters, who, in revolutionary times, are often thrown up like a foul scum upon the agitated surface of society.

The senator Grebel, a man highly respected at Zurich, had a son named Conrad, a young man of remarkable talents, a determined enemy to ignorance and superstition,—which he assailed with the keenest satire; vehement and overbearing in his manners, sarcastic and acrimonious in his speech, destitute of natural affection, addicted to dissolute habits, frequent and loud in professions of his own integrity, and unable to discover anything but evil

in the rest of mankind. We mention him here because he was destined afterwards to a melancholy celebrity. Just at this time, Vadianus contracted a marriage with one of Conrad's sisters. The latter, who was then a student at Paris, where his own misconduct prevented him from making any progress, having a desire to be present at the nuptials, suddenly appeared about the beginning of June, in the midst of his family. The prodigal son was welcomed by his poor father with a gentle smile; by his tender mother with many tears. The tenderness of his parents could not change that unnatural heart. Some time afterwards, on the recovery of his worthy but unfortunate mother from an illness which had nearly proved fatal, Conrad wrote to his brother-in-law Vadianus. "My mother is well again; and has taken the management of the house once more into her own hands. She sleeps, rises, begins to scold, breakfasts, scolds again, dines, resumes her scolding, and never ceases to torment us from morning to night. She bustles about, overlooking kettle and oven, gathering and strewing, toils continually, wearies herself to death, and will soon have a relapse."* Such was the man who subsequently attempted to lord it over Zwingle, and who acquired notoriety as the leader of the fanatical Anabaptists. Divine Providence may have permitted such characters to appear at the epoch of the Reformation, in order that the contrast furnished by their excesses might display more con-

* Sie regiert das Haus, schläft, steht auf, zankt, frühstuckt, keift. . . . (Simml. Samml. 4 Wirz, i. 76.)

spicuously the wise, christian, and moderate spirit of the Reformers.

Everything indicated that the struggle between the Gospel and the Papacy was about to commence. "Let us stir up the waverers," said Hedio, in a letter to Zwingle, "there is an end to peace; and let us fortify our own hearts; we have implacable enemies to encounter."* Myconius wrote in the same strain; but Ulric replied to these warlike appeals with admirable mildness. "I could wish," said he, "to conciliate those stubborn men by kindness and gentleness of demeanour, rather than to get the better of them in angry controversy.† For if they call our doctrine (though ours it is not) a doctrine of devils, that is not to be wondered at: I receive it as a token that we are the ambassadors of God. The devils cannot remain silent in Christ's presence."

Desirous as he was to follow the path of peace, Zwingle was not idle. Since his illness his preaching had become more spiritual and more fervent. More than two thousand of the inhabitants of Zurich had received the word of God into their hearts,—confessed the evangelical doctrine,—and were qualified to assist in its propagation.

Zwingle's faith is the same as Luther's; but it rests more upon argument than his. Luther is carried forward by the internal impulse, Zwingle by

* Armemus pectora nostra! pugnandum erit contra teterrimos hostes. (Zw. Epp. p. 101.)

† Benevolentia honestoque obsequio potius allici quam animosâ oppugnatione trahi. (Ibid. p. 103.)

the attraction of the light revealed to him. In Luther's writings we find a deeply seated personal conviction of the preciousness of the cross of Christ to his own soul; and this earnest, unfaltering conviction gives life and energy to all that he says. The same thing, undoubtedly, is found in the writings of Zwingle, but not in the same degree. His contemplations have been fixed rather on the Christian system as a whole; he reveres it for its surpassing beauty, for the light which it sheds upon the soul of man, for the everlasting life which it brings into the world. In the one the affections are the moving power,—in the other the understanding; and hence it happens that persons not experimentally acquainted with the faith which animated these two distinguished disciples of the Lord, have fallen into a gross error, and represented the one as a mystic, the other as a rationalist. The one is more pathetic, it may be, in the exposition of his faith—the other is more philosophic; but the same truths are embraced by both. Secondary questions, perhaps, they do not always regard under the same aspect; but that faith which is one, that faith which renews and justifies all who possess it,—that faith which no confession, no formulary of doctrine, can ever adequately express,—is the property of each alike. The opinions of Zwingle have often been so erroneously stated, that it seems necessary to give a summary of the doctrine which he then preached to the people who flocked in crowds to hear him in the cathedral of Zurich.

Zwingle beheld in the fall of the first man a key to the entire history of the human race. "Before

the fall," said he, in one of his discourses, "man had been created with a free will, so that if he had been willing he might have fulfilled the law; his nature was pure; the disease of sin had not yet tainted it;—his life was in his own hands. But having desired to be 'as God,'—he died;—and not he alone, but all that are born of him. All men, then, being dead in Adam, must ever remain so, until the Spirit, which is God himself, raises them out of death."*

The people of Zurich, who listened eagerly to the impressive preacher, were overwhelmed with sorrow when their eyes were first opened to the sinful condition of mankind; but the word of consolation was next administered, and they were taught the remedy by which the life of man is renewed. "Christ, very man and very God,"† said the eloquent descendant of the shepherds of the Tockenburg, "has purchased for us an everlasting deliverance. He who died for us is the eternal God: his passion therefore is an eternal sacrifice, and has a perpetual efficacy;‡ it satisfies the divine justice for ever upon behalf of all who rely upon it with a

* Quum ergo omnes homines in Adamo mortui sunt . . donec per Spiritum et gratiam Dei ad vitam quæ Deus est excitentur. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 203.) These expressions and others which we have already quoted, or shall proceed to quote, are extracted from a work published by Zwingle in 1523, in which he reduced into a compendium the doctrine which he had then been preaching for several years. "Hic recensere cœpi," he says, "quæ ex verbo Dei predicavi." (Ibid. p. 228.)

† Christus verus homo et verus Deus . . (Ibid. p. 206.)

‡ Deus enim æternus quum sit qui pro nobis moritur, passionem ejus æternam et perpetuò salutarem esse oportet. (Ibid.)

firm and unshaken faith."—"Where *sin* is," said the Reformer again, "*death* must needs follow. But Christ had no sin, neither was there guile found in his mouth; nevertheless he suffered death.—*Wherefore?* but because he suffered it in Our stead. He was content to die, that he might restore us to life;* and forasmuch as he had no sins of his own, the Father, in his infinite mercy, laid upon him the iniquity of us all."—"The will of man," argued the Christian orator, "had rebelled against the Most High; it was necessary, therefore, for the re-establishment of the eternal order of things, and the salvation of man, that the human will should, in Christ, give place to the divine."† It was a frequent remark of his that the expiatory death of Jesus Christ had taken place for the benefit of the faithful, or the people of God.‡

The souls that hungered after salvation in the city of Zurich found comfort in these good tidings; but there were some errors of ancient growth which their minds still harboured, and which it was needful to extirpate. Following out the great truth that salvation is the gift of God, Zwingle pleaded powerfully against the pretended merit of human works. "Since eternal salvation," said he, "proceeds solely from the merits and the death of Christ, the notion of merit in our works is no better than

* Mori voluit ut nos vitæ restitueret . . (Zw. Opp. i. p. 204.)

† Necesse fuit ut voluntas humana in Christo se divinæ submitteret. (Ibid.)

‡ Hostia est et victima satisfaciens in æternum pro peccatis omnium fidelium. (Ibid. p. 253.) Expurgata peccata multitudinis, hoc est, fidelis populi. (Ibid. p. 264.)

vanity and folly,—not to call it senseless impiety.* If we could have been saved by our own works, Christ's death would have been unnecessary. All who have ever come to God have come to him by the death of Jesus."†

Zwingle was not ignorant of the objections which this doctrine excited amongst a portion of his auditory. There were some who waited on him for the purpose of stating those objections. He answered them from the pulpit thus: "Some persons, rather speculative than pious, perhaps, object that this doctrine makes men reckless and dissolute. But what need we care for the objections and plans that may be conjured up by the speculations of men. All who believe in Christ are assured that whatever comes from God is necessarily good. If then the Gospel is of God, it is good.‡ And what other power is there that could bring in righteousness, truth, and love among the children of men?"—"O God most merciful, most righteous, Father of all mercies!" cried he in a transport of devotion, "with what marvellous love hast thou embraced us,—even us thy enemies.§ How great and how full is the hope thou hast imparted to us, who merited no other portion than despair! To what a height of glory hast thou vouchsafed, in thy beloved

* Sequitur meritum nostrorum operum nihil esse quam vanitatem et stultitiam, ne dicam impietatem et ignorantem impudentiam. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 290.)

† Quotquot ad Deum venerunt unquam per mortem Christi ad Deum venisse. (Ibid.)

‡ Certus est quod quidquid ex Deo est bonum sit. Si ergo Evangelium ex Deo bonum est. (Ibid. p. 209.)

§ Quantâ caritate nos fures et perduelles.

Son, to exalt our meanness and nothingness! Surely it is thy purpose by this unspeakable Love, to constrain us to *love thee* in return."

Pursuing this idea, he next shewed that love to the Redeemer was a law more powerful than the commandments. "The Christian," said he, "being delivered from the law, depends entirely on Christ. Christ is his reason, his counsel, his righteousness, his sanctification, his whole salvation. Christ lives and moves in him. Christ alone leads him on his way, and he needs no other guide."* Then making use of a comparison well adapted to the comprehension of his hearers, he added: "When a government forbids its citizens, under pain of death, to receive any pension or largess from the hands of foreigners, how gentle and easy is that law to those who, for the sake of their fatherland and liberty, would, of their own accord, abstain from so unworthy an act! But on the contrary, how harsh and oppressive does it appear to those who care for nothing but their selfish gains! Even so it is that the righteous man lives free and joyful in his love of righteousness, while the unrighteous man walks painfully under the burthen of the law that condemns him."†

In the cathedral of Zurich, that day, there were many old soldiers who could appreciate the truth of these words;—and can we deny that love is the most powerful of lawgivers? Are not all its requisitions

* Tum enim totus à Christo pendet. Christus est ei ratio, consilium, justitia, innocentia et tota salus. Christus in eo vivit, in eo agit. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 233.)

† Bonus vir in amore justitiæ liber et lætus vivit. (Ibid. p. 284.)

immediately fulfilled? Does not the beloved object live in our hearts, and there enforce obedience to all that he has enjoined? Accordingly Zwingle, assuming a still bolder tone as he proceeded, testified to the people of Zurich that love to the Redeemer was the only motive that could impel man to the performance of actions acceptable to God. "Works done out of Christ are worthless," said the Christian teacher, "since every good work is done by him,—in him,—and through him, what is there that we can lay claim to for ourselves? Wheresoever there is faith in God, *there* God himself abides,—and wheresoever God is, *there* is awakened a zeal which urges and constrains men to good works.* See to it, only, that Christ be in thee, and thou in Christ,—and fear not but He will work in thee. Of a truth, the life of a Christian man is but one continual good work, begun and carried forward and brought to completion—by God alone."†

Deeply impressed with the greatness of that love of God, which is from everlasting, the herald of grace adopted a strain of impassioned earnestness in the invitations which he addressed to the irresolute and fearful. "How is it," said he, "that you fear to draw nigh to that tender Father who has chosen us? Why has he chosen us of his free mercy? Why has he called us? Why has he drawn

‡ Ubi Deus, illic cura est et studium ad opera bona urgens et impellens. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 213.)

† Vita ergo pii hominis nihil aliud est nisi perpetua quædam et indefessa boni operatio quam Deus incipit, ducit et absolvit. (Ibid. p. 295.)

us to himself? to this end only, think you, that we should shrink from approaching him?"*

Such was the doctrine put forth by Zwingle. It was the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ himself. "If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I do," said the preacher of Zurich. "He has led to Christ many more souls than I:—be it so. Yet will I bear no other name than that of *Christ*, whose soldier I am, and who alone is my head. Never has a single line been addressed by me to Luther, or by Luther to me. And why?—that it might be manifest to all how uniform is the testimony of the Spirit of God,—since we, who have had no communication with each other, agree so closely in the doctrine of Jesus Christ."†

The success which attended on Zwingle's preaching corresponded to its fidelity.‡ The spacious cathedral was too small to contain the multitude of his hearers. All believers united in praising God for the new life which had begun to quicken the inanimate body of the Church. Many strangers from every canton, who came to Zurich, either to attend the Diet, or for other purposes, embraced the new doctrines, and carried the precious seeds of truth into all the valleys of Switzerland. From populous cities and from hamlets hidden in the glen, one cry of rejoicing gratitude arose to heaven. "Switzer-

* Quum ergo Deus pater nos elegit ex gratiâ suâ, traxitque et vocavit, cur ad eum accedere non auderemus? (Ibid. p. 287.)

† Quam concors sit spiritus Dei, dum nos tam procul dissiti, nihil colludentes, tam concorditer Christi doctrinam docemus. (Zw. Opp. i. 276.)

‡ Quam fortis sis in Christi prædicando. (Zw. Epp. p. 160.)

land," said Nicholas Hageus, in a letter written from Lucerne, "has heretofore given birth to many a Cæsar, and Scipio, and Brutus; but scarcely could she number among her offspring one or two to whom Christ was truly known, and who had learned to nourish souls with the divine word instead of doubtful disputations. Now that Divine Providence has given to Switzerland, Zwingle for a preacher, and Oswald Myconius for a professor, religion and sacred literature are reviving in the midst of us. O happy Helvetia, wouldst thou only rest from war, satisfied with the glory thou hast already won in arms, and cultivate in future that truer glory which follows in the train of righteousness and peace!"*—"It was reported," said Myconius in a letter to Zwingle, "that thy voice could not be heard at the distance of three paces. But we find now how false a tale it was; for thou art heard all over Switzerland."†—"It is a noble courage with which thou hast armed thyself," said Hedio, writing from Bale; "I will follow thee, as far as I have strength."‡—"I have listened to thy teaching," wrote Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, in a letter dated from Constance: "God grant that Zurich, the head of our confederacy, may be healed of its disease, that so the whole body may be restored to soundness."§

* O Helvetiam longe feliciorem, si tandem liceat te à bellis conquiescere! (Zw. Epp. 128.)

† At video mendacium esse, cum audiaris per totam Helvetiam. (Ibid. 135.)

‡ Sequar te quoad potero. . . . (Ibid. 134.)

§ Ut capite felicis patriæ nostræ à morbo erepto, sanitas tandem in reliqua membra reciperetur. (Ibid. 147.)

But Zwingle met with adversaries as well as admirers. "Wherefore," said some, "does he concern himself with the political affairs of Switzerland?"—"Why," said others, "does he repeat the same things so often in his religious instructions?" In the midst of these conflicting judgments, the soul of Zwingle was often overcome with dejection. It seemed to him that a general confusion was at hand, and that the fabric of society was on the point of being overturned.* He begun to apprehend that it was impossible for good to make its appearance in one quarter, but evil must spring up to counteract it in another.† If at one moment hope shone in his mind, it was instantly succeeded by fear. But he soon recovered from his depression. "The life of man here below is a warfare," said he; "he who would inherit glory must face the world as an enemy, and, like David, force the haughty Goliath, exulting in his strength, to bite the dust."—"The Church," said he again, using the very expression which Luther had employed, "has been purchased by blood, and by blood must it be restored.‡ The more numerous are the stains that defile it, the more numerous also must be the Herculean arms employed to cleanse away that augean filth.§ I fear little for Luther," added he, "though he be assailed by the thunderbolts of the Romish Jupiter."‖

* Omnia sursum deorsumque moventur. (Zw. Epp. 142.)

† Ut nihil proferre caput queat, cujus non contrarium è regione emergat. (Ibid.)

‡ Ecclesiam puto, ut sanguine parta est, ita sanguine instaurari. (Ibid 143.)

§ Eo plures armabis Hercules qui fimum tot hactenus boum efferant. (Ibid. 144.)

‖ Etiamsi fulmine Jovis istius fulminetur. (Ibid.)

Zwingle had need of rest; he repaired to the waters of Baden. The curate of the place, who had been one of the Pope's body-guard, a man of good character, but destitute of learning, had earned his benefice by carrying the halberd. Tenacious of his military habits, he passed the day and a portion of the night in jovial company, while Stäheli, his vicar, was unwearied in performing all the duties of his calling.* Zwingle sent for this young minister. "I have need," said he, "of helpers in Switzerland;" —and from that moment Stäheli, became his fellow-labourer. Zwingle, Stäheli, and Luti, who was afterwards a pastor at Winterthur, lived under the same roof.

Zwingle's self-devotion was not to miss its reward. The word of Christ, which he preached so diligently, was ordained to bring forth fruit. Many of the magistrates had been converted; they had found comfort and strength in God's holy word. Grieved to observe with what effrontery the priests, and especially the monks, in their addresses from the pulpit, uttered anything that came uppermost in their minds, the Council issued an ordinance by which they were enjoined to "deliver nothing in their discourses but what they should have drawn from the sacred fountains of the Old and New Testaments."† It was in 1520 that the civil power thus interfered for the first time in the work of the Reformation,—fulfilling the duty of the Christian magistrate, as some affirm; because the first duty of a

* Misc. Tig. iii. 679-696. Wirz, i. 79, 78.

† Vetuit eos Senatus quicquam prædicare quod non ex sacrarum literarum utriusque Testamenti fontibus hausissent. (Zw. Opp. iii. 28.)

magistrate is to uphold religion, and to protect the paramount and vital interests of the community;—depriving the Church of its liberty, say others,—bringing it under subjection to the secular power, and opening the way for that long train of calamities which has since been engendered by the union of Church and State. We will not here attempt to decide that great controversy by which more than one nation is agitated at the present day. Let it suffice us to have marked its origin at the epoch of the Reformation. But there is that in the fact itself which we must also mark;—the act of those magistrates was itself an effect produced by the preaching of the word of God. The Reformation in Switzerland was now emerging from the sphere of individual conversions, and becoming a national work. It had first sprung up in the hearts of a few priests and scholars; it was now spreading abroad, and lifting itself on high, and assuming a station of publicity. Like the waters of the sea it rose by degrees, until it had overspread a wide expanse.

The monks were confounded,—they were enjoined to preach only the word of God, and that word the majority of them had never read! Opposition provokes opposition. This ordinance became the signal for more violent attacks against the Reformation. Plots were now formed against the curate of Zurich, and his life was in danger. One evening, when Zwingle and his assistants were quietly conversing in their house, they were disturbed by the hasty entrance of some burghers, who inquired:—"Have you strong bolts on your doors?" and added, "Be on your guard to night."—"We often had

alarms of this kind," adds Stäheli, "but we were well armed,* and there was a watch set in the street for our protection."

Elsewhere, however, measures of more atrocious violence were resorted to:—an old inhabitant of Schaffhausen, named Gaster, a man distinguished for his piety, and for an ardour few, at his age, possess, having himself derived much comfort from the light which he had found in the Gospel, endeavoured to communicate it to his wife and children. In his zeal, which perhaps was not duly tempered with discretion, he openly attacked the relics, the priestcraft, and the superstition with which that canton abounded. He soon became an object of hatred and terror even to his own family. Perceiving at length that evil designs were entertained against him, the old man fled, broken-hearted, from his home, and betook himself to the shelter of the neighbouring forest. There he continued for some days, sustaining life upon such scanty food as the wilds afforded him, when suddenly, on the last night of the year, 1520, torches flashed through the whole extent of the forest, while yells of infuriated men, mingled with the cry of savage hounds, echoed fearfully through its deepest recesses. The Council had ordered the woods to be scoured to discover his retreat. The hounds caught scent of their prey, and seized him. The unfortunate old man was dragged before the magistrate, and summoned to abjure his faith; stedfastly refusing to do so, he was beheaded.†

* Wir waren aber gut gerüstet. (Misc. Tig. ii. 681. Wirz, i. 334.)

† Wirz, i. 510. Sebast. Wagner, von Kirchhofer, p. 18.

But a little while after the New Year's day that witnessed this bloody execution, Zwingle was visited at Zurich by a young man about twenty-eight years of age, tall of stature, and of an aspect which denoted candour, simplicity, and diffidence.* He introduced himself by the name of Berthold Haller. Zwingle immediately recognised the celebrated preacher of Berne, and embraced him with all that affability which rendered his address so fascinating. Haller, whose native place was Aldingen, in Wurtemberg,† had studied first at Rotweil, under Rubellus, and subsequently at Pforzheim, where he had Simler for his master, and Melancthon for a fellow-pupil. The Bernese about that time manifested a desire to make their republic the seat of letters, as it was already powerful in arms. Rubellus and Haller, the latter of whom was then twenty-one years of age, repaired to Berne accordingly. Haller soon became a canon there, and was afterwards appointed preacher of the cathedral. The Gospel proclaimed by Zwingle had found its way to Berne. Haller believed: and from that time he felt a wish to have personal intercourse with the gifted man, whom he already revered as a father. His journey to Zurich, undertaken with this view, had been announced by Myconius. Such were the circumstances of the meeting between Haller and Zwingle. Haller, whose characteristic was meekness of disposition, confided to Zwingle the trials with which he was beset; and Zwingle, who was eminently endowed with fortitude, commu-

* Animi tui candorem simplicem et simplicitatem candidissimam, nuc tuâ pusillâ quidem epistolâ . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 186.)

† Ita ipse in literis manuscriptis. (J. J. Hott. iii. 54.)

nicated to Haller a portion of his own courage. "My spirit," said Berthold, "is overwhelmed. I cannot endure such harsh treatment. I am resolved to give up my pulpit, seek a retreat with Wittembach, at Bale, and employ myself for the future in the private study of the Scriptures."—"Alas!" replied Zwingle, "a feeling of discouragement often takes possession of me likewise, when I am unjustly assailed. But Christ awakens my conscience by the powerful stimulus of his threatenings and promises. He rouses my fears by declaring:—*Whosoever shall be ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my Father*;—and then he gives me comfort by adding:—*Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father*. O, my dear Berthold, be of good cheer! Our names are written above, in characters that can never be effaced, as citizens of the heavenly city.* For my part I am ready to die for Christ.† Let those wild bears' cubs of yours," he added, "only once give ear to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and you will see how gentle they will become.‡ But you must address yourself cautiously to the work, lest they turn and rend you." Haller's courage rose again. "My soul," said he to Zwingle, "has cast off her slumber. I must needs preach the Gospel. Christ must again be received within those walls

* Scripta tamen habeatur in fastis supernorum civium. (Zw. Epp. p. 186.)

† Ut mori pro Christo non usque adeò detrectem apud me. (Ibid. 187.)

‡ Ut ursi tui ferociusculi, auditâ Christi doctrinâ, mansuescere incipiant. (Ibid.) The reader is aware, that a *bear* is the armorial device of the Canton of Berne.

from which he has so long been banished."* Thus was Berthold's lamp kindled afresh by Ulric's,—and the timid Haller could now unshrinkingly encounter the savage brood of bears "that gnashed their teeth," says Zwingle, "and longed to devour him."

But it was in another quarter that the persecution was to begin in Switzerland. The warlike canton of Lucerne was about to take the field, like a champion sheathed in mail, and ready for the charge. The military spirit had full sway in this canton, which was much addicted to foreign alliances; and the great men of the city would knit their brows if they heard so much as a pacific whisper breathed to damp the martial ardour of their country. It happened, however, that some of Luther's writings found their way into the city, and there were certain citizens who set themselves to peruse them. With what horror were they seized as they read on! It seemed to them that none but an infernal hand could have traced those lines; their imagination was excited, their senses were bewildered, and they fancied that the room was filled with devils gathering thickly round them, and glaring on them with a sardonic leer.† They shut the book, and cast it from them in affright. Oswald, who had heard these singular visions related, never spoke of Luther except to his most intimate friends; contenting himself with simply setting forth the

* Donec Christum, cucullatis nugis longè à nobis exulem pro virili restituerim. (Zw. Epp. p. 187.)

† Dum Lutherum semel legerint, ut putarent stubellam suam plenam esse dæmonibus . . . (Ibid. 137.)

Gospel of Christ. The cry nevertheless was raised through the whole city:—"To the stake with Luther and the schoolmaster (Myconius)!"*—"I am assailed by my enemies," said Oswald to a friend of his, "as a ship is beaten by the tempest."† One day, early in the year 1520, he was unexpectedly summoned to appear before the Council. "You are strictly enjoined," said the magistrates, "never to read Luther's writings to your pupils,—never to mention his name in their hearing,—never even to think of him yourself."‡ The lords of Lucerne were disposed, we perceive, to confine their jurisdiction within no narrow bounds. Shortly after this, a preacher delivered a fierce philippic against heresy from the pulpit. A powerful effect was produced upon the auditory; all eyes were turned upon Oswald, for against whom else could the preacher have meant to direct his discourse? Oswald remained quiet in his seat, as if the matter had not concerned him. But when he and his friend, the canon Xyloctect, amongst the rest of the congregation, were retiring from the church, one of the councillors, came up to them, with an air that betrayed his internal discomposure, and said in an angry tone:—"How now, ye disciples of Luther, why do ye not defend your Master?" They made no reply. "I live," said Myconius, "in the midst of savage wolves; but I have this consolation, that the greater part of them

* Clamatur hic per totam civitatem: Lutherum comburendum et ludi magistrum. (Zw. Epp 153.)

† Non aliter me impellunt quàm procellæ marinæ navem aliquam (Ibid. 159.)

‡ Imò ne in mentem eum admitterem. (Ibid.)

have lost their fangs. They would bite if they could, and since they cannot bite they howl."

The Senate was now convened, for the tumult among the people was increasing. "He is a Lutheran!" said one of the councillors. "He broaches new doctrines!" said another. "He is a seducer of youth!" said the third. "Let him appear! let him appear!" The poor schoolmaster appeared accordingly, and had to listen to fresh interdicts and threats. His guileless spirit was wounded and depressed. His gentle wife could only comfort him by the tears of sympathy which she shed. "Every one is against me," said he in the anguish of his heart. "Whither shall I turn me in the storm, or how escape its fury? Were it not for the help that Christ gives me, I should long since have sunk under this persecution."* — "What matters it," said Doctor Sebastian Hofmeister, writing to him from Constance, "whether Lucerne will give you a home or not? The earth is the Lord's. The man whose heart is stedfast finds a home in every land. Were we even the vilest of men, our cause is righteous, for we teach the word of Christ."

Whilst the truth was struggling against so much opposition at Lucerne, it was gaining ground at Zurich. Zwingle was unwearied in his labours. Desirous of studying the whole of the Scriptures in the original languages, he had applied himself diligently to the acquisition of the Hebrew under the direction of John Boscherstein, a disciple of Reuchlin. But in studying the Scriptures, his object was to make their contents known. The peasants who

* Si Christus non esset, jam olim defecissem. (Zw. Epp. 160.)

brought their produce on Fridays to the market of Zurich showed great eagerness to become acquainted with the word of God. To meet their desire, Zwingle, in December, 1520, had commenced the practice of expounding every Friday, a portion of the Psalms, previously making that portion the subject of his private meditations. The Reformers always connected deep study with laborious ministry;—the ministry was the end, the study was but the means. They were equally diligent in the closet and the public assembly. This union of learning with Christian love is one of the characteristics of the period. In his Sunday exercises, Zwingle, after having commented on St. Matthew's narrative of the life of our Saviour, proceeded to show in a course of lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, how the doctrine of Christ had been published to the world. He next explained the rules of the Christian life, as they are set forth in the Epistle to Timothy;—he drew arguments for the refutation of errors in doctrine from the Epistle to the Galatians,—and to this he joined the two Epistles of St. Peter, in order to prove to the despisers of St. Paul, that one and the same spirit animated both the Apostles; he ended with the Epistle to the Hebrews, that he might exhibit in their full extent the benefits which flow from the gift of Jesus Christ, as great high-priest of believers.

But Zwingle devoted not his attention solely to men of mature age, he laboured also to kindle a holy fire in the bosom of the young. One day in the same year 1521, as he sat in his closet, occupied in studying the Fathers of the Church, the most striking passages of whose works he was collecting

and carefully classing them in a large volume,—the door was opened by a young man, whose countenance and mein strongly prepossessed him in his favour.* This was Henry Bullinger, who had come to visit him on his way home from Germany, impelled by an earnest desire to form an acquaintance with a teacher of his native land, whose name was already celebrated in Christendom. The comely youth fixed his eyes by turns on the Reformer and his books; it seemed as though he felt an instant call to follow his example. Zwingle received him with the cordiality that won the hearts of all who accosted him. This first visit had a powerful influence on the whole life of the student after he returned to his father's roof. Another young man had also attracted Zwingle's regard; this was Gerold Meyer von Knonau. His mother Anna Reinhardt, who afterwards filled an important part in Zwingle's history, had been greatly admired for her beauty, and was still distinguished for her virtues. A youth of noble family, John Meyer von Knonau, who had been brought up at the court of the Bishop of Constance, his kinsman, had conceived an ardent affection for Anna; but she was of plebeian birth. The elder Meyer von Knonau refused his consent to their union, and when he found that it had taken place, he disinherited his son. In 1513 Anna was left a widow with one son and two daughters, and the education of her poor orphans now became the sole object of her life. The grandfather was inexorable. One day, however, the wi-

* Ich hab by Im eim gross Buch gesehen, *Locorum communium*, als ich by Ihm wass, a°. 1521, dorinnen er *Sententias* und *dogmata Patrum*, flyssig jedes an seinem ort verzeichnet. (Bullinger, MS.)

dow's maid servant having taken out young Gerold, a graceful and lively child, just three years old, and having stopped with him in the fish-market, old Meyer, who was sitting at the window,* happened to observe him, followed his movements with his eyes, and asked whose child it was, so fresh and beautiful and joyous. "It is your own son's child!" was the reply. The old man's heart was moved, its icy crust was melted in a moment,—the past was forgotten, and he hastened to clasp in his arms the bereaved wife and the children of his son. Zwingle felt a father's love for the young, the noble, and courageous Gerold, whose destiny it was to perish in his prime, at the Reformer's side, with his hand upon his sword, and surrounded, alas! by the dead bodies of his enemies. Thinking that Gerold could not pursue his studies with advantage at Zurich, Zwingle, in 1521, sent him to Bale.

The young Von Knonau did not find Zwingle's friend Hedio at the University. Capito, being obliged to attend the Archbishop Albert to the coronation of Charles V. had sent for Hedio to take his place at Mentz. Bale had thus within a brief space been deprived of its two most faithful preachers; the church in that city seemed to be left desolate; but other men now came forward. The church of William Roubli, the curate of Saint Albans, was thronged by an auditory of four thou-

* Lüget dess Kindts grossvater zum fänster uss, und ersach das kind in der fischer bränten (Kufe), so fräch (frisch) und frölich sitzen .... (Archives des Meyer von Knonau, quoted in a biographical notice of *Anna Reinhard*, Erlangen, 1835, by M. Gerold Meyer von Knonau.) I am indebted to the kindness of this friend for the elucidation of several obscure passages in Zwingle's history.

sand persons. He inveighed against the mass, purgatory and the invocation of saints; but he was a man of a contentious spirit, greedy of popular admiration,—the antagonist of error rather than the champion of truth. On Corpus Christi day, he joined the great procession; but instead of the relics which it was the practice to exhibit, a magnificently decorated copy of the Holy Scriptures was carried before him, bearing this inscription in large letters, "THE BIBLE; this is the true relic; all the rest are but dead men's bones."—Courage adorns the servant of God, but ostentation ill befits him. The work of an Evangelist is to preach the Bible,—not to make a pompous parade of it. The irritated priests laid a charge against Roubli before the Council. A crowd immediately assembled in the square of the Cordeliers. "Protect our preacher," was the cry of the burghers, addressing the Council. Fifty ladies of distinction interceded in his behalf; but Roubli was compelled to quit Bale. At a later period he was implicated, like Grebel, in the disorders of the Anabaptists. The Reformation, in the course of its developement, never failed to cast out the chaff that was mingled with the good grain.

But now, in the lowliest of chapels, a humble voice was heard that distinctly proclaimed the truths of the Gospel. It was the voice of the youthful Wolfgang Wissemburger, the son of a counsellor of State, and chaplain to the hospital. Those of the inhabitants of Bale, whose eyes were opened to their own spiritual necessities, were induced to gather round the meek-tempered chaplain, rather than the arrogant Roubli. Wolfgang began to read the mass

in German. The monks renewed their clamours; but this time they failed, and Wissemburger was left free to preach the Gospel;—"because," says an old chronicler, "he was a burgher, and his father was a counsellor."* These early advantages, gained by the Reformation at Bale, gave token of greater success to follow. Moreover, they were of the utmost importance, as they affected the progress of the work throughout the whole of the confederated cantons. Zurich no longer stood alone. The enlightened city of Bale had begun to listen to the new doctrine with delight. The foundations of the renovated temple were widening. The Reformation in Switzerland had reached another stage of its growth.

Zurich, however, was still the centre of the movement. But in the course of the year 1521, events of political importance occurred, which brought bitter grief to the heart of Zwingle, and in a measure distracted the attention of his countrymen from the preaching of the Gospel. Leo X.—who had proffered his alliance simultaneously to Charles V. and to Francis I.—had at length determined in favour of the Emperor. The war between the two rivals was about to break out in Italy. "We shall leave the Pope nothing but his ears,"† said the French general Lautrec. This sorry jest increased the anger

* Dieweil er ein Burger war und sein Vater des Raths. (Fridolin Ryff's Chronik.)

† Disse che M. di Lutrech et M. de l' Escu havia ditto che'l voleva che le recchia del Papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona. (Gradenigo, the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, MS. 1523.)

of the Pontiff. The King of France claimed the assistance of the Swiss Cantons, which, with the exception of Zurich, were all in alliance with him; —it was afforded at his call. The Pope conceived the hope of engaging Zurich on his side; and the Cardinal of Sion, ever ready for intrigue, and relying on his own dexterity and eloquence, immediately visited the city, to procure a levy of soldiers for his master. But he had to encounter a vigorous opposition from his old friend Zwingle. The latter was indignant at the thought of the Swiss selling their blood to foreigners; his imagination pictured to him the Zurichers on the plains of Italy, under the standard of the Pope and the Emperor, rushing with levelled pikes against the other confederates, who were gathered under the banners of France; and in the contemplation of that fratricidal scene, his patriotic and Christian soul was filled with horror. He lifted up his admonitory voice in the pulpit. "Will you rend asunder and destroy the confederation?"* cried he. "We give chase to the wolves who ravage our flocks; but we set no guard against such as prowl around us to devour our brethren! Oh! there is good reason why their robes and hats are red, if you only twitch those garments of theirs, ducats and crowns will fall out: but if you grasp them tightly, you will find them dripping with the blood of your brothers, your fathers, your sons, your dearest friends!"† In vain did Zwingle

* Sagt wie es ein fromme Eidtgnossechafft zertrennen und umbkehren würde. (Bullinger, MS.)

† Sie tragen billig rothe hüt und mäntel, dan schüte man sie, so fallen cronen und Duggaten heraus, — winde man sie, so rünt deines Bruders, Vaters, Sohns und guten Freunds Blut heraus. (Ibid.)

record his energetic protest. The Cardinal with his red hat prevailed, and two thousand seven hundred Zurichers marched out under the command of George Berguer. Zwingle was deeply afflicted. His efforts, however, were not wholly unproductive of good. A long period was to elapse before the banners of Zurich should again be unfurled, and carried through the city gates at the call of a foreign prince.

Mortified by the ill-success of the cause which he had espoused as a citizen, Zwingle devoted himself with renewed zeal to the diffusion of the Gospel. He preached with greater energy than ever. "I will never desist," said he, "from my labours to restore the primitive unity of the Church of Christ."* He opened the year 1522, with the first of a series of discourses in which he pointed out the difference between the precepts of the Gospel and those of men. When the season of Lent arrived, his exhortations assumed a still more impressive tone. Having laid the foundations of the new edifice, he was solicitous to clear away the ruins of the old one. "For the space of four years," said he to the crowd assembled in the cathedral, "ye have gladly received the holy doctrines of the Gospel. The love of God has glowed within your bosoms,—ye have tasted the sweetness of the heavenly manna,—it is impossible that ye should now find savour or sustenance in human traditions."† He proceeded to argue against

* Ego veterem Christi ecclesiæ unitatem instaurare non desinam. (Zw. Opp. iii. 47.)

† Gustum non aliquis humanarum traditionum cibus vobis arridere potuerit. (Zw. Opp. i. 2.)

the obligation to abstain from flesh at particular seasons. "There are some," he cried in a strain of unstudied eloquence, "who pretend that to eat flesh is a fault,—nay, a heinous sin,—though God has never forbidden it,—but who yet regard it as no sin at all to sell human flesh to the foreigner, and deliver their brethren to be butchered!"* This bold language could not fail to awaken the indignation and anger of those among his auditory who supported the military compacts with foreign states; they inwardly vowed that they would never forget it.

While he preached thus fearlessly, Zwingle still continued to say mass; he observed the rules established by the church, and even abstained from flesh on the appointed days. He recognised the necessity of enlightening the minds of the people in the first place. But there were some turbulent spirits who acted with less prudence. Roubli, who had found an asylum at Zurich, allowed himself to be hurried blindly along by the impulse of an overcharged zeal. He, but lately the curate of Saint Albans,—a Bernese captain,—and Conrad Huber, a member of the Great Council,—were accustomed to meet together at Huber's house, for the express purpose of eating flesh on Fridays and Saturdays,—an exploit in which they greatly prided themselves. The question of abstinence began to engross the public attention. A native of Lucerne, who was on a visit in Zurich, said to a citizen with whom he was familiar:—"You do wrong,—you worthy confederates of Zurich,—to

* Aber menschenfleisch verkoufen un ze Tod schlahen . . . (Zw. Opp. ii. 2nd part, p. 301.)

eat flesh during Lent." The Zuricher: "But you also, good folks of Lucerne, take the liberty of eating it on days when it is forbidden." The Lucernese: "We purchased our license from the Pope." The Zuricher: "And we ours from the butcher* .... If it is an affair of money, the one, surely, is as good as the other." The Council having been called upon to punish those who transgressed the ecclesiastical ordinances, requested the opinion of the curates on this matter. Zwingle replied that the practice of eating flesh on all days alike was in itself harmless; but that it was right to abstain from adopting it, until the question should have been decided by some competent authority. The other members of the clerical body concurred in the same opinion.

The enemies of the truth took advantage of this fortunate circumstance. Their influence was fast declining,—Zwingle's ascendancy becoming paramount,—it was necessary to strike a prompt and vigorous blow. They addressed an urgent appeal to the Bishop of Constance. "Zwingle," cried they, "is the destroyer, not the pastor, of the Lord's flock."†

The ambitious Faber, Zwingle's former friend, had recently undertaken a journey to Rome, and returned full of zeal for the Papacy. To the notions which he had imbibed during his sojourn in that imperious court, we must ascribe the first outbreak of the religious troubles in Switzerland. The time had now arrived for a decisive struggle between gospel truth and the retainers of the Roman Pontiff.

* So haben wirs von dem Metzger erkaufft .... (Bullinger, MS.)

† Ovilis dominici populator esse, non custos aut pastor. (Zw. Opp. iii. p. 28.)

Until the truth has been exposed to hostile efforts, its innate power is never fully elicited. It was under the cold-shadow of opposition and persecution that Christianity in its earliest growth acquired the strength by which its enemies were eventually discomfited. And at the epoch of the great revival which forms the subject of this history, it was the will of God that His truth should march onward in the same rugged and thorny track. The high-priests then, as in the days of the Apostles, set themselves against the new doctrine. But for these assaults, it might, perhaps, have remained concealed in the secret chambers of a few believing hearts. But God's purpose was to manifest it to the world. Opposition had the effect of clearing new avenues for its passage launching it on a new career, and fixing on it the eyes of the entire nation. It operated like the gust of wind that scatters the seed to a distance, which otherwise, perhaps, might have lain inert and unprofitable in the spot where it fell. The tree under whose salutary foliage the tribes of Helvetia were to find rest and shelter had been planted, indeed, in the depths of her valleys; but the storm was needed to give its roots a firmer hold of the soil, and to enlarge the covert of its branches. The partisans of the Papacy no sooner caught a glimpse of the flame that had been kindled at Zurich, than they hastened, while it was yet smouldering, to stifle it; but their efforts served only to fan it into vigour.

On the 7th of April, 1522, in the after part of the day, three ecclesiastics, entrusted with a mission from the Bishop of Constance, entered the walls of

Zurich. Two of them had an austere and angry cast of countenance, the third was of gentler aspect. These persons were Melchior Battli, the bishop's coadjutor, Doctor Brendi, lastly John Vanner, the preacher of the cathedral, a man of evangelic piety, who was silent throughout the whole affair.* It was already late in the evening when Luti ran to Zwingle to tell him the news. "Officers have arrived from the bishop," said he, "some great blow is to be struck; all who favour the old customs are in commotion. A notary is now going round to give notice of an assembly of the clergy to be held at an early hour to-morrow in the Chapter-house."

The assembly was held accordingly on the following morning; when the Coadjutor rose and delivered a speech, which his opponents characterised as violent and arrogant;† he studiously refrained, however, from mentioning Zwingle by name. Some priests who had lately been won over to the Gospel, and who were yet weak in the faith, were overawed;—their paleness, their silence, their sighs, testified that they had lost all courage.‡ Zwingle stood up and delivered a speech which his adversaries made no attempt to answer. At Zurich, as in

* (Zw. Opp. p. 8.)—J. J. Hottinger (iii. 77.) Ruchat (i. 134, 2nd edition,) and others say, that Faber was at the head of the deputation. Zwingle gives the names of the three deputies, and makes no mention of Faber. The authors first cited have no doubt confounded two distinct offices of the Roman hierarchy,—the coadjutor and the vicar-general.

† Erat tota oratio vehemens et stomachi superciliique plena. (Zw. Opp. 3. 8.)

‡ Infirmos quosdam nuper Christo lucrifactos sacerdotes offensos eâ sentirem ex tacitis palloribus ac suspiriis. (Ibid. p. 9.)

the other cantons, the most violent enemies of the new doctrine were to be found in the smaller Council. The deputies having been baffled in the meeting of the clergy now carried their complaint before the magistrates; Zwingle was absent; they had therefore no reply to fear. The result appeared decisive. The Gospel and its champion were on the point of being condemned without a hearing. Never was the Reformation in Switzerland in more imminent peril. It seemed destined to be smothered in its cradle. In this emergency, the councillors who were friendly to Zwingle appealed to the jurisdiction of the Great Council,—it was their only remaining resource, and God was pleased to make it availing for the preservation of the Gospel. The Two Hundred were convened. The partisans of the Papacy used every endeavour to exclude Zwingle from that assembly. Zwingle struggled hard to obtain admission. He knocked at every door, as he himself tells us, and left not a stone unturned;*—but all in vain. "It is impossible!" said the Burgomasters; "the Council has signed an order to the contrary."—"Thereupon," says Zwingle, "I desisted, and with heavy sighs laid the matter before Him who hears the groanings of the prisoner, beseeching Him to succour his Gospel."† The patient and submissive expectation of a servant of God is never disappointed.

On the 9th of April the Two Hundred were assembled. "We must have our pastors here," said those members at once, who were friendly to the

* Frustra diu movi omnem lapidem. (Zw. Opp. 3. 9.)

† Ibi ego quiescere ac suspiriis rem agere cœpi apud eum qui audit gemitum compeditorum. (Ibid.)

Reformation. The smaller Council objected; but the great Council determined that the pastors should be present at the accusation, and might even reply to it, if they should think fit. The deputies from Constance were ushered in first,—and then the three curates of Zurich, Zwingle, Engelhard, and the aged Roeschli.

After the adverse parties who were thus brought face to face had regarded each other for a while with scrutinizing glances, the Coadjutor rose to speak. "If his heart and his head had only been matched with his voice," says Zwingle, "he would have excelled Apollo and Orpheus in sweetness, and the Gracchi and Demosthenes in power."

"The civil constitution," said the champion of the Papacy, "and the Christian religion itself are threatened with ruin. Men have appeared amongst us teaching newly-invented doctrines, that are equally abominable and seditious." He went on for some time in the same strain, and then fixing his eyes on the assembled senators before whom he stood: "Continue in the Church," said he, "continue in the Church. Out of the Church none can be saved. The ceremonies of the Church alone can bring unlearned Christians to the knowledge of salvation:* and the pastors of the flock have nothing to do but to explain the signification of these ceremonies to the people."

When the Coadjutor had finished his speech and resumed his seat for a moment, he again rose, and was preparing with his colleagues to leave the coun-

* Unicas esse per quas simplices Christiani ad agnitionem salutis inducerentur. (Zw. Opp. 3. 10.)

cil-hall, when Zwingle earnestly addressed him.—"Reverend Coadjutor!" said he, "and you, Sirs, who bear him company! I beseech you to stay until I have answered this charge."

THE COADJUTOR. "It is not our commission to dispute with any one."

ZWINGLE. "I wish not to dispute, but to state unreservedly what my doctrine has been up to this hour."

THE BURGOMASTER ROUST, addressing the deputies from Constance: "I pray you listen to what the curate has to say in reply."

THE COADJUTOR. "I know too well the man I have to deal with. Ulric Zwingle is too violent for any discussion to be held with him."

ZWINGLE. "Was there ever an instance before of an innocent man being so vehemently attacked, and then denied a hearing? In the name of that faith which we all profess,—in the name of the baptism which each of us has received,—in the name of Christ, the author of salvation and eternal life,—I adjure you to listen to me!* If you cannot as deputies,—do so, at least, as Christians!"

After having discharged her idle volley, Rome was hastily retreating from the field of battle. The Reformer was anxious only to be heard; the Papal envoys thought but of escaping. A cause thus advocated was already gained by the one party, and lost by the other. The Two Hundred could no longer contain their indignation; —a murmur† ran

* Ob communem fidem, ob communem baptismum, ob Christum vitæ salutisque auctorem. (Zw. Opp. 3. 11.)

† Cœpit murmur audiri civium indignantium. (Ibid.)

through the whole assembly; again the Burgomaster remonstrated with the deputies. At last, abashed and silenced, they returned to their seats. Then Zwingle spoke as follows:

"The Reverend Coadjutor talks of doctrines that are seditious and subversive of civil authority. Let him learn that Zurich is more tranquil and more obedient to the laws than any city in Switzerland,—a blessing which all good Christians attribute to the Gospel. What influence so powerful as that of Christianity to maintain good order in a community?* As for ceremonies, what purpose do they serve but to disfigure the lineaments of Christ and his followers?† No,—it is not by vain observances like these that the unlearned multitude can be brought to the knowledge of the truth. There is another and a better way. It is the way that Christ and his apostles have marked out for us,—even the Gospel itself. Let us not be told that the people cannot understand the Gospel. Whosoever believes must needs understand. The people can believe; therefore they can understand. This is an operation of the Holy Spirit,—not of the human intellect.‡ With regard to abstinence, let him who thinks forty days insufficient,—fast, if he will, all the year round:—it concerns not me! All that I contend for is, that no one should be compelled to fast; and that

* Imo Christianismum ad communem justitiam servandam esse potentissimum. (Zw. Opp. iii. 13.)

† Ceremonias haud quicquam aliud agere quam et Christo et ejus fidelibus os oblinere. (Ibid.)

‡ Quidquid hic agitur divino fit afflatu, non humano ratiocinio. (Ibid.)

the Zurichers ought not, for the neglect of this petty observance, to be accused of withdrawing themselves from the communion of Christians . . ."

"I never said that!" cried the Coadjutor. "No!" said his colleague, Doctor Brendi, "he did not say that." But the Senate unanimously confirmed the assertion of Zwingle.

"Worthy fellow-citizens," continued Zwingle, "let not this accusation move you. The foundation of the Church is the same rock, the same Christ—that gave Peter his name, because he confessed him faithfully. In every nation whosoever believes with all his heart in the Lord Jesus is accepted of God. Here, truly, is the Church, out of which no one can be saved.* To explain the Gospel, and to obey it,—such is the sum of our duty as the ministers of Christ."

"Let those who live upon ceremonies make it their business to explain them!"—This was probing the wound to the quick.

A flush passed over the Coadjutor's face, but he remained silent. The assembly of the Two Hundred broke up. On the same day they came to the resolution, that the Pope and the cardinals should be requested to explain the controverted point, and that in the mean time abstinence from flesh should be observed during Lent. This was leaving the matter as it stood, and meeting the bishop by an expedient to gain time.

The effect of this controversy was to forward the work of Reformation. The champions of Rome, and those of the new doctrines, had encountered

* Extra illam neminem salvari. (Zw. Opp. 3. 15.)

each other, in the presence, it might be said, of the whole people, and the issue had not been to the advantage of the former. This was the first conflict in a warfare which was destined to be long and difficult, and marked by many vicissitudes of humiliation and rejoicing. But victory won at the commencement of a contest inspires an army with courage, and strikes terror into the enemy. The Reformation had gained a vantage-ground, from which it was not to be dislodged. The Council, indeed, found it necessary to proceed with caution; but the people loudly proclaimed the defeat of Rome. "Never," said they, in the exultation of the moment, "never again can she rally her scattered forces."* "You have shown the spirit of St. Paul himself," said one of Zwingle's correspondents, "in this manful attack on those whited walls,—those false apostles and their Ananias. The servants of Antichrist can now only gnash their teeth against you!"—From the heart of Germany there came voices that hailed him —"the glory of regenerated theology!"†

But in the mean time the enemies of the truth were collecting all their strength. If the Gospel was to be suppressed at all, there was no time to be lost, for it would soon bid defiance to their efforts. Hoffman impeached the Reformer in a written discourse of great length, which he addressed to the chapter. "Even though the curate," said he, "could bring forward witnesses to prove that cer-

* Ut, vulgo jactatum sit, nunquam ultra copias sarturos. (Zw. Epp. 203.)

† Vale renascentis Theologiæ decus. (Letter of Urban Regius. Zw. Epp. 205.)

tain offences or disorders had been committed by ecclesiastics in such and such a convent, or street, or tavern, it would be a breach of duty to name the delinquents! Why does he insinuate—(it is true I have scarcely ever heard him myself) that he alone derives his doctrine from the fountain-head, while others draw theirs from puddles and kennels?* Is it not impossible,—seeing the difference of men's minds—that all preachers should preach alike?"

Zwingle defended himself in a full assembly of the chapter, scattering his adversary's charges, "as a bull with his horns scatters a wisp of straw to the wind."† The affair which had appeared so serious, ended in a peal of laughter at the canon's expense. But Zwingle did not stop here;—on the 16th of April he published a treatise "*on the free use of meats.*"‡

The Reformer's unconquerable firmness was a cause of rejoicing to all who loved the truth, and particularly to the evangelical Christians of Germany, afflicted as they were by the long imprisonment at Wartburg, of that eminent apostle who had first appeared in the bosom of the Church. Already there were instances of pastors and believing laymen who had been driven into exile by the rigorous edict which Charles, under the influence of the Papacy, had issued at Worms,—and who had found an asylum at Zurich. "Oh, how it gladdens my heart!" was the language of a letter written to Zwingle by Nesse, the professor of Frankfort, whom Luther

* Die andern aber aus Rinnen und Pfützen. (Simml. Samml. Wirz, I. 244.)

† Ut cornu vehemens taurus aristas. (Zw. Epp. p. 203.)

‡ De delectu et libero ciborum usu. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 1.)

had visited on his way to the Diet:—"how it gladdens my heart to hear with what boldness you are preaching Christ Jesus! Strengthen by your exhortations, I beseech you, those whom the cruelty of unworthy prelates has banished from our bereaved churches."*

But it was not in Germany alone that the friends of the Reformation were exposed to the deadly machinations of their adversaries. Not a day passed but secret meetings were held at Zurich, to devise some method of getting rid of Zwingle.† One day he received an anonymous letter, which he immediately communicated to his two vicars. "You are beset with snares on every side," said the writer; "a potent poison has been prepared to deprive you of life.‡ Partake of no food but in your own house; eat no bread but what your own cook has baked. There are those within the walls of Zurich who are leagued for your destruction. The oracle which has revealed this to me, is better entitled to credit than that of Delphi. I am your friend; my name you shall know hereafter."§

On the morning following the day on which Zwingle received this mysterious epistle, just as Stäheli was entering the Water-church, a chaplain stopped him and said—"Leave Zwingle's house with all speed; a catastrophe is at hand!" Some unknown fanatics, who despaired of seeing the Re-

* Et ut iis qui ob malorum episcoporum sævitiam à nobis submoventur prodesse velis. (Zw. Epp. p. 208.)

† Nulla præterierat hora, in qua non fierent . . . consultationes insidiosissimæ. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

‡ Ἕτοιμα φάρμακα λυγρά. (Ibid. 199.)

§ Σός εἰμι; agnosces me postea. (Ibid.)

formation checked by words, had betaken themselves to the dagger. When mighty revolutions are in progress, and the foul dregs of society are heaved upon its agitated surface, we often see the assassin playing a conspicuous part. Zwingle was preserved however, for God watched over him.

But while the plots of the murderers were baffled, the legitimate engines of the Papacy were again put in motion. The bishop and his counsellors were determined to renew the war. Tidings to this effect reached Zwingle from every quarter. The Reformer, still leaning on the word of God, replied with high-minded intrepidity;—"I fear them as a lofty crag fears the roaring waves that dash against its base"*. . . σὺν τῷ θεῷ. "God being my helper," added he. On the 2nd of May, the Bishop of Constance issued a mandate, in which, without any mention of Zurich, or of Zwingle, he complained that evil-disposed persons were reviving doctrines which had long since been condemned, and that learned and unlearned men alike were every where irreverently discussing the most exalted mysteries. John Vanner, preacher of the cathedral of Constance, was the first who was individually attacked. "I choose," said he, "rather to be a Christian, though I incur the hatred of many, than to purchase the friendship of the world by forsaking Christ!"†

But it was at Zurich that the death-blow must be dealt against the infant heresy. Faber and the

* Quos ita metuo ut litus altum fluctuum undas minacium. (Zw. Epp. 203.)

† Malo esse Christianus cum multorum invidiâ quam relinquere Christum propter mundanorum amicitiam. (Ibid. 200, 22 May.)

bishop knew that Zwingle had many enemies among the canons. They resolved to take advantage of this circumstance. Towards the end of May a letter from the bishop was received at Zurich, addressed to the principal and chapter. "Sons of the Church," said the prelate, "let those perish who will perish! but let none entice *you* to abandon the Church."* At the same time, the bishop charged the canons to prevent those pernicious doctrines which were giving birth to dangerous sects from being preached among them, or made the subject of discussion either in private or in public. When this letter was read in the chapter, all eyes were turned upon Zwingle. He could not but know what that look implied. "You think," said he, "I perceive, that this letter has reference to me; be pleased to deliver it to me then, and, by God's help, I will answer it."

Zwingle's answer was embodied in a work, bearing the title of *Archeteles*, which signifies the "beginning and the end;" "for," said he, "I hope that this my first reply will also be my last." In this production, he speaks in a very respectful manner of the bishop, and ascribes all the hostility of which he had to complain to the malevolence of a few designing men. "What, after all, is my offence?" he asks, "I have endeavoured to open men's eyes to the peril of their souls; I have laboured to bring them to the knowledge of the only true God, and Christ Jesus his Son. To this end I have employed no subtle arguments, but the word of truth and soberness, such as my brethren of Switzerland

* Nemo vos filios ecclesiæ de ecclesiâ tollat. (Zw. Opp. 3. 35.)

could understand." Then exchanging his defensive posture for that of an assailant, he significantly adds: "Julius Cæsar, when he felt that he had received a mortal wound, exerted his remaining strength to gather his robe around him, that he might fall with dignity. The downfall of your ceremonies is at hand; be it your care to give their fate what decency you may,—and to speed the inevitable transition from darkness to light."*

This was all the effect produced by the bishop's letter to the chapter of Zurich. Since every milder expedient proved ineffectual, it became necessary now to strike a vigorous blow. Faber and Landenberg, cast their eyes around them, and fixed them at last on the Diet,—the Council of the Helvetic nation.† Deputies from the bishop presented themselves before that assembly; they stated that their master had issued a mandate forbidding the priests of his diocese to attempt any innovation in matters of doctrine; that his injunction had been set at nought, and that he consequently appealed to the heads of the Confederation to aid him in reducing the rebels to obedience, and in maintaining the true and ancient faith.‡ The enemies of the Reformation had the ascendancy in this supreme assembly of the nation. But a little before, it had issued a decree by which all priests were required to desist from preaching; on the ground that their discourses

* In umbrarum locum lux quam ocissimè inducatur. (Zw. Opp. 3. 69.)

† Nam er ein anderen Weg an die Hand;—schike seine Boten . . . &c. (Bullinger, MS.)

‡ Und den wahren alten Glauben erhallten. (Ibid.)

tended to stir up dissensions among the people. This decree of the Diet, its first act of interference with the Reformation, had not hitherto been enforced; but now, being bent on rigorous measures, the assembly summoned before it Urban Weiss, the pastor of Fislispach, near Baden, who was accused by public report of preaching the new doctrine, and rejecting the old. The proceedings against Weiss were suspended for a while at the intercession of a numerous body of citizens,—security having first been exacted from him to the amount of a hundred florins, which were collected by his parishioners.

But the Diet had taken a side in the contest; this was evident, and the monks and priests began to recover their courage. At Zurich they had assumed a haughtier aspect immediately on the promulgation of the first decree. Several members of the Council were accustomed to visit the three convents every morning and evening, and even to take their meals there. The monks lectured their well-meaning guests, and urged them to procure an ordinance from the government in their favour. "If Zwingle will not hold his peace," said they, "we will cry out louder than he!" The Diet had openly espoused the cause of the oppressors: the Council of Zurich knew not how to act. On the 7th of June, it published an ordinance forbidding any one to preach against the monks; but no sooner had this ordinance been voted than "a sudden noise was heard in the council-chamber," says Bullinger's Chronicle,—"so that all present looked at each other in dismay."* Tranquillity was not restored; on

* Liess die Rathstuben einen grossen Knall. (Bullinger, MS.)

the contrary, the contest which was carried on in the pulpits grew warmer every day. The Council appointed a committee before whom the pastors of Zurich and the readers and preachers of the convents were respectively summoned to appear in the Principal's dwelling-house. After a keen debate, the Burgomaster enjoined both parties to refrain from preaching any thing that might breed discord. "I cannot submit to this injunction," said Zwingle; "I claim the right of preaching the Gospel freely, without any condition whatsoever, agreeably to the former ordinance. I am bishop and pastor of Zurich; it is to me that the cure of souls has been confided. I am under the obligation of an oath, from which the monks are exempt. They are the party who ought to give way,—not I. If they preach what is false, I will contradict them, were it even in the pulpit of their own convent. If I myself preach any doctrine contrary to the Holy Gospel, then I desire to be rebuked, not only by the chapter, but by any private citizen,* and moreover to be punished by the Council."—"And we," said the monks, "on our part, demand permission to preach the doctrines of St. Thomas." The committee of the Council, after mature deliberation, determined "that Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and the other doctors should be laid aside, and that preachers should confine themselves to the Holy Gospel." Again, therefore, the truth was triumphant. But the anger of those who supported the Papacy was inflamed to a higher pitch. The Italian canons could not conceal their fury. They cast

* Sondern von einim jedem Bürger wyssen. (Bullinger, MS.)

insulting glances at Zwingle in the chapter, and seemed to be thirsting for his blood.*

These tokens of hostility could not intimidate Zwingle. There was one place in Zurich where, thanks to the Dominicans, no ray of light had hitherto entered; this was the nunnery of Oetenbach. The daughters of the first families of Zurich were accustomed to take the veil there. It seemed unjust that these poor females, shut up within the walls of their convent, should alone be debarred from hearing the word of God. The Great Council ordered Zwingle to visit them. The Reformer accordingly mounted the pulpit which none but the Dominicans had hitherto occupied, and delivered a sermon "On the clearness and certainty of the word of God."† He afterwards published this remarkable discourse, which produced a great effect, and still further contributed to exasperate the monks.

An event now occurred which enlarged the sphere of this religious animosity, and communicated it to many a heart which had as yet been a stranger to its influence. The Swiss, under the command of Stein and Winkelried, had suffered a bloody defeat at Bicocca. They had made a gallant attack on the enemy; but the artillery of Pescara, and the lanzknechts of that same Freundsberg whom Luther had encountered at the door of the Council-hall at Worms, had overthrown officers and standards, and whole companies at once had been mowed down and

* Oculos in me procacius torquent, ut cujus caput peti gauderent. (Zw. Opp. iii. 29.)

† De claritate et certitudine verbi Dei. (Zw. Opp. i. 66.)

exterminated. Winkelried and Stein, with many inferior chiefs who bore the illustrious names of Mulinen and Diesbach and Bonstetten and Tschudi and Pfyffer, had been left on the field of battle. Schwitz, in particular, had been bereft of the bravest of her sons. The mangled remnant of that disastrous conflict returned to Switzerland, carrying mourning in their train. A cry of unmingled lamentation resounded from the Alps to the Jura, from the Rhone even to the Rhine.

But no one felt this calamity more keenly than Zwingle. He immediately addressed a letter to the canton of Schwitz to dissuade the citizens of that state from engaging again in foreign service. "Your ancestors," said he, with all the warmth of a true-hearted Switzer, "contended with their enemies in defence of their liberties; but never did they imbrue their hands in Christian blood. These foreign wars bring upon our country incalculable evils. The anger of God descends upon the States, and Swiss liberty is almost lost between the interested caresses and mortal hatred of foreign Princes."* Zwingle gave the right hand to Nicolas von Flue, and supported the appeal of that friend of peace. This remonstrance, being presented at a general assembly of the people of Schwitz, produced such an impression, that it was decreed that provisionally the state would decline any alliance for the next twenty-five years. But it was not long before the French party procured the revocation of this noble resolution; and from that time Schwitz was of all the cantons

* Ein göttlich Vermanung an die cersamen, &c. eidgnossen zu Schwyz. (Zw. Opp. ii. 2nd part, 206.)

the most opposed to Zwingle and his efforts. Even the disgraces that the same party drew upon their country served but to increase their hatred of the bold preacher who was striving to avert them. A violent opposition was formed against Zurich and Zwingle. The usages of the Church, and the recruiting services, attacked at the same moment, mutually supported each other against the rising wind which threatened both with downfall. Meanwhile enemies were multiplying from without. It was no longer the Pope alone, but the other foreign princes, who vowed irreconcileable hatred to the Reformation. Its effect went to deprive them of those Swiss halberds which had added so many triumphs to their ambition . . . On the side of the Gospel there remained—God—and the excellent of the earth :—it was more than enough. Divine Providence was besides bringing to its support men of different countries who were persecuted for their faith.

On Saturday the 12th of July, the inhabitants of Zurich witnessed the arrival in their streets of a monk, of tall, thin, and gaunt stature, habited in the grey frock of the Cordeliers, of foreign appearance and mounted on an ass; his bare feet almost touching the ground.* In this manner he arrived from the road leading to Avignon, not knowing a word of German. However, by means of Latin he contrived to make himself understood. Francis Lambert (for that was his name), inquired for Zwingle, and handed to him a letter from Berthold Haller: "The Franciscan father who is the bearer of

* . . . Kam ein langer, gerader, barfüsser Mönch . . . ritte auf einer Eselin. (Füsslin Beyträge, iv. 39.)

this," wrote the Bernese curate, "is no other than apostolic preacher to the convent-general of Avignon. For the last five years he has been teaching the true Christian doctrine; he has preached in Latin to our clergy at Geneva, at Lausanne, before the bishop, at Friburg, and latterly at Berne, touching the church, the priesthood, the sacrament of the mass, the traditions of the Roman bishops, and the superstitions of religious orders. To me such teaching from a Cordelier, and a Frenchman, (both characters that, as you know, suppose a host of superstitions) seemed a thing unprecedented."* The Frenchman himself recounted to Zwingle that the writings of Luther having been discovered in his cell, he had been obliged to leave Avignon at a moment's warning; how he had first preached the Gospel in the city of Geneva, and afterwards at Lausanne, on the banks of the same lake. Zwingle, quite overjoyed, threw open to him the church of our Lady,—assigning him a seat in the choir, before the high altar. There Lambert delivered four sermons, in which he attacked with vigour the errors of Rome; but in his fourth discourse he defended the invocation of the saints and of Mary.

"Brother! Brother! you are mistaken,"† exclaimed a loud voice. It was Zwingle's. Canons and chaplains leaped for joy on seeing a dispute arising between the Frenchman and the heretical curate: "He has publicly attacked you," said they to Lambert; "require of him a public discussion." The

* A tali Franciscano, Gallo, quæ omnia mare superstitionum confluere faciunt, inaudita. (Zw. Epp. 207.)

† Bruder da irrest du. (Füsslin Beytr. iv. p. 40.)

monk of Avignon did so;—and on the 22d of July, at ten o'clock, the two disputants met in the conference-hall of the canons. Zwingle opened the Old and New Testament in Greek and Latin. He discussed and expounded until two o'clock, when the Frenchman, clasping his hands together and raising them towards heaven,* broke forth in these words: "I thank thee, O God, that, by this thy gifted minister, thou hast granted to me so clear a discovery of the truth."—"Henceforth," he added, turning to the assembly, "in all my trials I will invoke none but God alone, and throw aside my beads. To-morrow I purpose to continue my journey. I am going to Bale to see Erasmus of Rotterdam, and thence to Wittemberg to see the Augustine Martin Luther." And accordingly he took his departure on his ass. We shall meet with him again. This man was the first who went forth from France for the sake of the Gospel into Switzerland and Germany; the humble forerunner of many thousands.

Myconius had no such consolations. On the contrary, it was his lot to see Sebastian Hofmeister, who had come from Constance to Lucerne, and had there preached the Gospel boldly,—compelled to quit the city. On this Oswald's melancholy increased —a fever consumed him; the physicians gave their opinion that if he did not remove he would die. "No where do I more wish to be than with you," wrote he to Zwingle, "and no where have I less wish to be than at Lucerne. Men torment me, and the climate destroys me. People say my disease is the punishment of my iniquity. It is in vain to speak

* Dass er beyde Hände zusammen hob. (Füsslin Beytr. iv p. 40.)

or do any thing, they turn every thing to poison . . . There is One above, on whom alone my hope rests."*

This hope was not delusive.—It was about the end of March, and Annunciation-day was approaching. The day before its eve a solemn fast was observed, in memory of a conflagration that in 1340 had reduced to ashes the greater part of the city. A crowd of people from the environs were collected together at Lucerne, and several hundred priests were assembled. A noted preacher usually preached; and on this occasion Conrad Schmid, of Kusnacht, commander of the Johannites, arrived to take the duty. A great crowd filled the church,—but what was their astonishment, when the commander, abandoning the customary Latin oration, spoke in plain German,† that all could understand; declared with authority and holy zeal the love of God in sending His Son into the world, and eloquently shewed that our works cannot save us, and that God's promises are in truth the essence of the Gospel. "God forbid," cried the commander, in the hearing of the astonished congregation, "that we should recognize a head so full of sin as the Roman bishop, and thereby reject Jesus Christ.‡ If the Bishop of Rome dispenses the bread of the Gospel, let us acknowledge him as a pastor—not as our head; and if he does not dispense it, let us in no way whatever recognize him." Oswald could not restrain his joy.

* Quicquid facio venenum est illis. Sed est in quem omnis spes mea reclinat. (Zw. Epp. 192.)

† Wolt er keine pracht tryben mit latein schwätzen, sondern gut teutsch reden. (Bullinger, MSC.)

‡ Absit a grege Christiano, ut caput tam lutulentum et peccatis plenum acceptans, Christum abjiciat. (Zw. Epp. 195.)

"What a man!" he exclaimed,—"What a discourse!—what majesty and authority!—how full of the spirit of Christ!" The effect was almost universal. To the agitation which pervaded the town succeeded a solemn silence; but all this was transient,—if a nation closes the ear to God's call, his calls are every day less frequent, and ere long they are altogether withdrawn. This was the fate of Lucerne.

While truth was there proclaimed from the pulpit,—at Berne the Papacy was assailed in the festive meetings of the people. A layman of reputation, Nicolas Manuel, famed for his talents, and afterwards promoted to high office in the State, indignant at seeing his countrymen mercilessly plundered by Samson, composed some carnival dramas, in which he keenly satirized the extortion, haughtiness, and pomp of the Pope and clergy . . . On the *mardi gras*, or Shrove Tuesday of *their lordships*, (their lordships were then the clergy,-and the clergy usually began their Lent eight days before other people), nothing was talked of in Berne but a drama or *mystery*, called—*the Feeders upon the Dead*,which some young folks were to act in the rue de la Croix. The people flocked to the spot.—As literary productions, these dramatic sketches of the early part of the sixteenth century possess some interest,—but it is in a very different point of view that we recal them: we would prefer doubtless not to have to adduce, on the part of the Reformation, attacks of this nature; as truth triumphs by far different weapons: history, however, does not create, but faithfully transmits what she finds.

And now the acting begins, much to the satisfaction of the impatient crowd gathered together in the rue de la Croix. The Pope appears, attired in splendid habiliments, and seated on a throne. Around him stand his courtiers and body-guard, and a mixed assemblage of dignified and inferior clergy;—beyond them are nobles, laymen, and beggars. Shortly after a funeral procession appears;—it is a wealthy farmer whom they are carrying to his grave. Two of his kinsmen walk slowly in front of the coffin, with handkerchiefs in their hands. The procession being arrived in the Pope's presence, the bier is lowered, the acting begins:—

FIRST RELATIVE.

The noble army of saints,
Take pity on our lot;
Alas! our cousin is dead,
In the prime of his life.

ANOTHER RELATIVE.

No cost will we spare
For priests, friars, or nuns,
Tho' a hundred crowns we should drain;
Determined are we,
His spirit to free,
From dire purgatorial pain.*

The SACRISTAN coming out of the crowd near the Pope, and hurrying to the curate, Robert Ne'er-Enough:—

My lord curate, let me drink your health;
A rich farmer is just dead!

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* Kein kosten soll uns dauern drau,
Wo wir Mönch und Priester mögen ha'n,
Und sollt'es kosten hundert kronen . . .
(Bern. Mausol iv. Wirz, K. Gesch. i. p. 383.)

THE CURATE.

One, say you. One is not enough.
One dead! 'tis for *ten* that I call;
The more die off, the more blithely we live,*
This Death is the best trick of all!

THE SACRISTAN.

Ah! if I had but my heart's desire,
I'd pass my time in tolling of knells;
For unlike field labour the dead never tire,
But pay well, and tell no tales.

THE CURATE.

If tolling a bell opes the gate of heaven,
I know not—but what does that matter?
It brings me in barbel, pike, salmon, and trout;
And my larder grows, day by day, fatter.

THE CURATE'S NIECE.†

'Tis all very well—but I put in *my* claim,
And this Soul must to-day *me* provide
With a comely new gown of white, black, pink, or green,
And a neat pretty kerchief beside.

Cardinal LOFTYLOOK,—wearing the red hat, and standing near the Pope:—

Did we not love the bloody prize of Death,
Would we have led to slaughter, in their prime,
Those armed trains,
On battle plains,
In wars our pride has kindled in our time?‡

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* Je mehr, je besser! Kämen doch noch Zehn! (Bern. Mausol. iv. Wirz, K. Gesch i. 383.)

† In the German the term is more gross, *Pfaffenmetze*.

‡ Wenn mir nicht wär' mit Todten wohl,
So läg nicht mancher Acker voll, etc.
(Bern. Mausol. iv. Wirz, K Gesch. i. 383.)

The blood of Christians yields to Rome her wealth!
Hence do I wear a hat of sanguine red,
Made fat with pomp and riches by the dead!

BISHOP WOLFS-BELLY.

By papal right I mean to live and die.
I wear rich silks, and spend luxuriously;
I plead in battle, or I hunt at will!
If we in the *first* church were living still,
My cloak were what a peasant round him flings *
But we were shepherds then, and now, we're kings!
Yet 'mongst the shepherds I to *pass* intend.

A VOICE.

How so?

BISHOP WOLFS-BELLY.

At the sheep-shearing time, my friend!
Shepherds and wolves are we to our fat flocks;
They must feed us, or fall beneath hard knocks.
Marriage to curates doth the Pope deny:
'Tis well:—but who among them will comply?
Not e'en the best of them.—That's better still!
What matter scandals?—Bribes my coffers fill.
Thus shall I better sport a princely train:
The smallest coin indeed I ne'er disdain.
A priest with money takes a wife discreetly;
Four florins yearly . . . seal my eyes completely.
Brings she him children,—he must bleed again . . .
Two thousand florins in a year I gain:
If they were virtuous I should starve, be sure.†
Thanks to the Pope! him kneeling I adore.
'Tis in his faith I'll live,—his church defend,
And ask no other God till life shall end!

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* Wenn es stünd, wie im Anfang der Kilchen,
Ich trüge vielleicht grobes Tuch und Zwilchen. (Ibid.)

† The German is very expressive. So bin Ich auf gut Deutsch ein Hurenwirth. (Ibid.)

THE POPE.

Men think that to a haughty priest 'tis given
T' unclose or shut at will the gate of heaven.
—Preach well the conclave's chosen one's decree,
And we are kings—and laymen slaves shall be:
But if the Gospel standard be displayed,
All's over with us!—for 'tis no where said
That men should give their money to the priest.
Perhaps too, if the Gospel were obeyed,
We should pass life in poverty and shade . . .
Instead of these caparisoned proud steeds,
With these rich carriages my household needs,
My holiness would ride a duller beast.*
No,—We'll find means to guard the goodly gains
Our predecessors left,—and quell rash aims.
'Tis ours to will, and the world's part to bow;
To me as to a God its nations vow;
Crushed by my weight when I ascend its throne,
I give its good things to my pack alone.
An unclean layman must not touch our treasure;
Three drops of holy water 'll fill his measure!

We will not follow out this literal rendering of Manuel's dramatic effusion. The vexation of the clergy on learning these efforts of the Reformers, their anger against those who would thus put a stop to these disorders,—is painted in vivid colours. The dissoluteness the mystery brought prominently forward was too general for each one not to be struck by the truth of the picture. The people were in commotion. Many were the satirical jests of the spectators as they broke up from the *spectacle* in the rue de la Croix; but some were more gravely

* Wir möchten fast kaum ein Eselein ha'n. (Bern. Mausol. iv. Wirz, K. Gesch. i. 383.)

affected,—and these spoke of the liberty of the Christian, and the Pope's despotism,—contrasting the simplicity of the Gospel with Romish pageantry. Rapidly the popular contempt broke forth in the public streets. On Ash Wednesday the people paraded the indulgences through the city, accompanying them with satirical songs. A heavy blow had been struck, in Berne, and throughout Switzerland, at the ancient edifice of Popery.

Shortly after this dramatic representation, another comedy took place at Berne; but in this last invention had no share. The clergy, the council, and the burghers, had assembled before the upper gate, expecting the skull of St. Ann, which the celebrated knight, Albert von Stein, had gone to fetch from Lyons. After waiting some time, Stein arrived, bearing the precious relic, wrapped in a covering of silken stuff. On its passage through Lausanne, the bishop of that place had fallen on his knees before it. The holy trophy was carried in procession to the church of the Dominicans. Bells were rung,—the procession entered, and the skull of the Virgin's mother was solemnly deposited on the altar dedicated to her, beneath a screen of costly lattice-work. But in the height of the rejoicing, came a letter from the Abbot of the convent at Lyons (where the remains of the saint were preserved), announcing that the monks had tricked the knight, by imposing on him an unclean skull picked up from among the bones of the cemetery. This imposition on the celebrated city of Berne deeply offended its inhabitants.

The Reformation was making progress in other

parts of Switzerland. In 1521, Walter Klarer, a young man of Appenzel, returned from the university of Paris to his own canton. The writings of Luther fell into his hands, and in 1522 he preached the Gospel with all the fervour of a young Christian. An innkeeper named Rausberg, a member of the Council of Appenzel, threw open his house to the friends of truth. A famous captain, Bartholomew Berweger, who had fought in the ranks for Julius II. and Leo. X. being lately returned from Rome, instantly set about persecuting the new doctrine. But recollecting one day that he had seen much that was wrong at Rome, he began to read his Bible and hear the preachers;—his eyes were opened, and he embraced the Gospel. Observing that the crowds who came could no longer find room in the churches: "Why not preach in the open fields and in the public squares?" said he—and in spite of much opposition, the hills, meadows, and mountains of Appenzel, from that time often resounded with the tidings of salvation.

This doctrine, ascending the course of the Rhine, even reached as far as ancient Rhetia. One day a stranger coming from Zurich, passed the river, and presented himself at the door of a saddler of Flasch, the first town in the Grisons. Christian Anhorn listened with amazement to the conversation of his guest. "Preach then," said the whole village to the stranger, whose name was James Burkli;—and Burkli took his stand before the altar A body of armed men, with Anhorn at their head, surrounded him to protect him from any sudden attack; and thus he proclaimed the Gospel. The report of

his preaching spread abroad, and on the next Sunday an immense crowd assembled. Very soon a great number of the inhabitants of that country desired to partake of the Lord's supper, according to Christ's appointment. But one day the tocsin was suddenly heard in Mayenfeld;—the people ran together in alarm, the priests depicted the dangers that threatened the Church, and—followed by this fanatic population,—hurried to Flasch. Anhorn, who was working in the fields, surprised by the ringing of bells at so unusual an hour, returned home in haste, and secreted Burkli in a deep pit that had been dug in his cellar. The house was already surrounded; the doors were burst open, and strict search made for the heretical preacher; but in vain. At length they left the place.*

The word of God had spread through the ten jurisdictions of the league. The curate of Mayenfeld, on returning from Rome, (whither he had fled in indignation at the progress of the Gospel), exclaimed—"Rome has made an evangelist of me!" and became from that time a zealous Reformer. Ere long the Reformation extended itself in the league of what was called "the house of God." "Oh, if you could but see how the inhabitants of the Rhetian Alps cast away from them the yoke of Babylon!" wrote Salandronius to Vadian.

Revolting disorders hastened the day when Zurich and its neighbouring country should finally throw off the yoke. A married schoolmaster desiring to take priest's orders obtained his wife's con-

* Anhorn, Wiedergeburt der Ev. Kirchen in den 3 Bündten. Chur, 1680. Wirz, i. 557.

sent and was separated from her. The new curate finding himself unable to fulfil his vow of celibacy quitted the place of his wife's residence, from regard to her, and settling himself in the diocese of Constance, there formed a criminal connection. His wife hearing of it went to him. The poor priest was melted at the sight of her, and dismissing the woman who had usurped her rights, took home his lawful wife. Instantly the procurator-fiscal made out his report,—the Vicar-general was in motion,—the councillors of the consistory met in deliberation, and . . . . enjoined the curate to renounce his wife, or his benefice! The poor wife left her husband's house in tears; her rival resumed her place in triumph. The church was satisfied, and from that moment left the adulterous priest undisturbed.*

Shortly after a curate of Lucerne seduced a married woman, and cohabited with her. The husband repairing to Lucerne availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the priest's absence to recover possession of his wife. As he was returning the seducer met them in the way;—he instantly fell upon the injured husband, and inflicted a wound, of which the latter died.† All good men saw the necessity of re-establishing the law of God, which declares marriage "honourable in all." (Heb. xiii. 4.) The ministers of the Gospel had discovered that the law of celibacy was altogether of human authority, imposed by the Popes, and contrary to God's word, which, in describing a faithful bishop, represents

* Simml. Samml. vi.—Wirz, K. Gesch. i. 275.

† Hinc cum scorto redeuntem in itinere deprehendit, adgreditur, lethiferoque vulnere cædit et tandem moritur. (Zw. Epp. p. 206.)

him as a husband and a father. (1 Tim. iii. 2—4.) They also saw that of all the corruptions which had gained footing in the church, not one had led to more profligacy and scandals. Hence they not only thought it lawful, but even part of their duty to God to reject it. Several among them at this period returned to the apostolic usage. Xyloctect was already a husband. Zwingle also married about this time. Among the women of Zurich none was more respected than Anna Reinhard, widow of Meyer von Knonau, mother of Gerold. From Zwingle's coming among them, she had been constant in her attendance on his ministry; she lived near him, and he had remarked her piety, modesty, and maternal tenderness. Young Gerold, who had become almost like a son to him, contributed further to bring about an intimacy with his mother. The trials that had already befallen this Christian woman,—whose fate it was to be, one day, more severely tried than any woman whose history is on record,—had formed her to a seriousness which gave prominency to her Christian virtues.* She was then about thirty-five, and her whole fortune consisted of 400 florins. It was on her that Zwingle fixed his eyes for a companion for life. He felt the sacredness and intimate sympathy of the marriage tie; and termed it "a most holy alliance."†—"As Christ," said he, "died for those who are His, and gave himself entirely for them, so should those who are united together by marriage, do and suffer all things one for the other." But Zwingle, when

* Anna Reinhard, von Gerold Meyer von Knonau, p. 25.

† Ein hochheiliges Bündniss. (Ibid. 25.)

he took Anna Reinhard to wife, did not make his marriage public. This was beyond doubt a blameable weakness in one who was in other things so resolute. The light he and his friends possessed on the subject of celibacy was by no means general. The weak might have been stumbled. He feared lest his usefulness in the church might be destroyed by making known his marriage,* and he sacrificed much of his happiness to these fears, excusable perhaps, but such as he ought to have disregarded.†

* Qui veritus sis, te marito non tam feliciter usurum Christum in negotio verbi sui. (Zw. Epp. p. 335)

† The most respectable biographers, and those who have followed them, place Zwingle's marriage two years later, namely, in April 1524. Without intending here to state all the reasons which have satisfied me that this is an error, I will notice the most conclusive. A letter from Zwingle's intimate friend Myconius, bearing date 22d July, 1522, has these words: *Vale cum uxore quam felicissime.* Another letter from the same friend, written toward the end of that year, has likewise the words: *Vale cum uxore.* That the date of these letters is quite correct is proved by the very contents of them But what is still stronger, a letter written from Strasburg by Bucer at the moment when Zwingle's marriage was made public, the 14th of April, 1524, (the date of the year is wanting, but it is evident that this letter is of that year,) contains several passages which shew Zwingle to have been married à considerable time before; the following are some of these, besides what is cited in the preceding note. Professum *palam* te maritum legi. Unum hoc desiderabam in te.—Quæ multo facilius quam *connubii tui confessionem* Antichristus posset ferre.—Αγομον, ab eo, quod cum fratribus .... episcopo Constantiensi congressus es, nullus credidi.—Qua ratione id *tam diu* celares .... non dubitarim, rationibus huc adductum, quæ apud virum evangelicum non queant omnino repudiari .... &c. (Zw. Epp. 335.) Zwingle, then, did not marry in 1524, but he then made public his marriage contracted two years before. The learned editors of Zwingle's letters observe—Num forte jam Zwinglius Annam Reinhardam clan-

Meanwhile, interests of a higher kind were engaging the thoughts of the friends of truth. The Diet, as we have seen, urged on by the enemies of the Reformation, had enjoined the preachers of the Gospel to abstain for the future from preaching doctrines that disturbed the people. Zwingle felt that the moment for action had arrived, and with characteristic energy he invited such ministers of the Lord as were favourable to the Gospel to meet him at Einsidlen. The strength of Christians is neither in force of arms, flames, scaffold, party policy, or man's power. It is found in a simple but unanimous and courageous confession of the great truths which must one day prevail over the world. Those who serve God are specially called to hold up these heavenly truths in presence of all the people, unawed by the clamours of enemies. These truths carry in themselves the assurance of their triumph, and idols fall before them as before the ark of God. The time had come when God would have the great doctrine of salvation thus confessed in Switzerland; it was fit that the gospel standard should be planted on an elevated spot. Providence was on the point of drawing forth from their unknown seclusion humble but intrepid men, and causing them to give a noble testimony in the face of the whole nation.

Towards the end of June and beginning of July, 1522, pious ministers were seen from every side journeying to the famous chapel of Einsidlen, on a new pilgrimage.* From Art in the canton of

destino in matrimonio habebat? (p. 210.) which appears to me to be not a doubtful point, but a fact sufficiently established.

* Thaten sich zusammen etliche priester. (Bullinger, MS.)

Schwitz, came its curate, Balthasar Trachsel; from Weiningen near Baden, the curate Stäheli; from Zug, Werner Steiner; from Lucerne, the canon Kilchmeyer; from Uster, the curate Pfister; from Hongg, near Zurich, the curate Stumpff; from Zurich itself, the canon Fabricius, the chaplain Schmid, the preacher of the hospital Grosmann, and Zwingle. Leo Juda, curate of Einsidlen, joyfully received these ministers of Christ into the ancient abbey. Since Zwingle's residence, the place had become a kind of citadel of truth,—a refuge for the righteous.* So in the solitary field of Grutli, two hundred and fifteen years before, had gathered together three-and-thirty patriots, fearlessly determined to burst asunder the yoke of Austria. At Einsidlen the great aim was to cast away the yoke of man's authority in the things of God! Zwingle proposed to his friends to address an urgent petition to the cantons and the bishop; claiming a free preaching of the Gospel, and also the abolition of compulsory celibacy, the source of so many disorders. All agreed in his suggestion.† Ulric had himself prepared addresses. That to the bishop was first read. It was on the 2nd of July, 1522. All signed it. A hearty affection united the preachers of the Gospel. Many others there were who sympathized with those who had met at Einsidlen; such were Haller, Myconius, Hedio, Capito, Œcolampadius, Sebastian Meyer, Hoffmeister, and Vanner. This brotherly unity is one of the loveliest features of the Swiss Reforma-

* Zu Einsidlen hatten sie alle Sicherheit dahin zu gehen und dort zu wohnen. (J. J. Hottinger Helv. K. Gesch. iii. 86.)

† Und wurden eins an den Bischoff zu Constantz und gmein Eidtgnossen ein Supplication zu stellen. (Bullinger, MSC.)

tion. The excellent men we have mentioned ever acted with one heart, and their mutual affection lasted till death.

The men assembled at Einsidlen saw plainly that nothing but the energy of faith could combine in one work the members of the confederation divided by the foreign capitulations. But their views rose above this. "The heavenly teaching," said they to their ecclesiastical superior in their address dated 2d July, "that truth which God the Creator has made known in his Son to mankind immersed in sin, has long been veiled from our eyes by the ignorance, not to say the evil intentions, of a handful of men. But Almighty God has decreed to reinstate it in its primitive purity. Join then with those who desire that the great body of Christians should return to their Head, that is Christ . . . .* For our parts we are resolved to proclaim his Gospel with unwearied perseverance, and yet with a prudence that shall leave no ground of complaint against us.† Favour this undertaking; startling, perhaps, but not rash. Take your stand like Moses, in the way, at the head of the people getting up out of Egypt, and by your own hands overturn all obstacles to the triumphant march of truth."

After this spirit-stirring appeal, the ministers of the Gospel assembled at Einsidlen came to the subject of celibacy. Zwingle had for himself nothing

* Et universa Christianorum multitudo ad caput suum, quod Christus est, redeat. (Supplicatio quorundam apud Helvetios Evangelistarum. (Zw. Opp. iii. 18.)

† Evangelium irremisso tenore promulgare statuimus . . . (Ibid.)

to seek on that head:—he had as his partner such a minister's wife as Saint Paul has sketched, "grave, sober, faithful in all things." (1 Tim. iii. 2.) But his thoughts were for those of his brethren whose consciences were not, as his, set free from human ordinances. He longed for that time when those servants of God might live openly and without fear in the circle of their families, "having their children in subjection with all gravity."—"You are not ignorant," said the men of Einsidlen, "how deplorably hitherto the laws of chastity have been violated by the clergy. When in the consecration of ministers to the Lord, the question is put to him who speaks on behalf of the rest:—Are the persons you present to us righteous men?—he answers:—They are righteous. Are they well instructed?—They are well instructed. But when he is asked: are they *chaste?* His answer is: As far as man's weakness permits."*—"The New Testament every where condemns illicit intercourse, while it every where sanctions marriage." Here follow a great number of citations from Scripture.—"It is for this reason we entreat you, by the love of Christ, by the liberty he has obtained for us, by the distress of weak and unstable souls, by the wounds of so many ulcerated consciences,—by every motive, divine and human, to consent that what has been enacted in presumption, may be annulled in wisdom; lest the noble fabric of the Church crumble into dust with frightful crash, spreading ruin far and

* Suntne casti? reddidit: Quatenus humana imbecillitas permittit. (Zw. Opp. iii. 21.)

wide.* Look around you. Behold how many storms threaten society. If prudence does not come to our rescue, the fate of the clergy is decided."

The petition addressed to the Confederation was at greater length.† "Worthy Sirs!" thus spoke the allies of Einsidlen: "We are all Swiss, and acknowledge you as our fathers. Some among us have given proof of our fidelity in the field of battle, in pestilence, and other calamities. It is in the name of chastity that we address you. Which of you does not know that we should better consult the lust of the flesh by declining to subject ourselves to the conditions of lawful wedlock. But it is indispensable to put an end to the scandals which inflict the Church of Christ. If the tyranny of the Roman Pontiff should persist in oppressing us,—O! noble heroes, fear nothing! The authority of God's word, the rights of Christian liberty, and the sovereign power of grace, will encompass and protect us.‡ We are of one land and of one faith; we are Swiss; and the virtue of our race has ever displayed its power in unflinching defence of all who are unjustly oppressed."

Thus did Zwingle and his friends boldly uplift the standard of the truth and freedom in Einsidlen itself, that ancient bulwark of superstition, which even in our days is still one of the most noted sanc-

* Ne quando moles ista non ex patris cœlestis sententia constructa, cum fragore longe perniciosiore corruat. (Zw. Opp. iii. 24.)

† Amica et pia paranesis ad communem Helvetiorum civitatem scripta, ne evangelicæ doctrinæ cursum impediant, &c. (Ibid. i. 39.)

‡ Divini enim verbi auctoritatem, libertatis christianæ et divinæ gratiæ præsidium nobis adesse conspicietis. (Ibid. 63.)

tuaries of Roman observances. They appealed to the chiefs of the State and of the Church. Like Luther, they publicly placarded their theses;—but it was at the doors of the episcopal palace and of the council of the nation. The friends at Einsidlen separated; calm, joyous, and full of confidence in that God to whom they had committed their cause; and passing, some by the way of the field of battle of Morgarten, others over the chain of the Albis, and the rest by other valleys or mountain paths, they returned each one to his post. "Truly there was something sublime for those times," says Henry Bullinger,* "that these men should have thus dared to step forward, and taking their stand around the Gospel, expose themselves to every kind of danger. But God has preserved them all, so that no evil has happened unto them, for God ever protects those who are his." And in truth there *was* a sublimity in this proceeding. It was a decisive step in the progress of the Reformation, one of the most brilliant days of the religious regeneration of Switzerland. A holy bond was compacted at Einsidlen. Humble and brave men had taken 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and the shield of faith.' The gauntlet had been thrown down,—and the challenge given, not by one man only,—but by men of different cantons,—prepared to peril their lives on the issue.

The battle was evidently approaching. Everything betokened that it would be vigorously contested. As early as the 7th of July, the magistrate of Zurich, willing to do the Romanists a pleasure,

* Es wass zwahren gross zu denen Zyten . . . (Bullinger, MSC.)

summoned before him Conrad Grebel and Claus Hottinger, two intemperate men, who seemed desirous to overpass the limit of a prudent reformation. "We prohibit you," said the burgomaster Roust, "from speaking against the monks, or on the points in controversy." At that moment a loud clap was heard in the room, says an old chronicle. The work of God was so manifest in events, that men saw in everything the sign of His intervention. Every one in astonishment looked round the apartment without being able to discover the cause of the mysterious sound.*

But it was in the convents that indignation was at its height. Every meeting held therein for discussion or amusement witnessed some new attack. One day, on occasion of a grand festivity in the convent of Fraubrunn, the wine mounting to the heads of the guests, they begun to break out in bitter speeches against the Gospel.† That which chiefly irritated these friars and priests was the evangelic doctrine, that in the Christian Church there can properly be no priestly caste raised above other believers. Among the guests, there was but one who was a favourer of the Reformation, and he was a layman named Macrin, schoolmaster of Soleure. At first he took no part in the discourse, but changed his seat from one table to another. At length, unable to endure the shouts of the guests, he arose and said aloud—"Well: all true Christians *are* priests and sacrificers, according to that word of St. Peter:‡ ye

* Da liess die Stube einen grossen Knall. (Füsslin Beytr. iv. 39.)

† Cum invalescente Baccho, disputationes, imo verius jurgia. . . (Zw. Epp. 230.)

‡ 1 Pet. ii. 9. Rev. i. 6.

are kings and priests." At this speech the Dean of Burgdorff, one of the loudest in company, a huge man of powerful lungs and sonorous voice, burst into a loud laugh, and mingling jest with insult,—"So then," said he, "you Greeklings and accidence-mongers are the royal priesthood? . . . Noble sacrificers!* beggar kings! . . . priests without prebends or livings!" And all with one accord turned against the presumptuous layman.

It was however at Lucerne that the bold measure of the men at Einsidlen was to produce the greatest sensation. The Diet had met in that town, and from all sides came complaints against the over-zealous preachers who obstructed the regular sale of Swiss blood to foreign nations. On the 22nd July, 1522, as Oswald Myconius sat at dinner in his house in company with the Canon Kilchmeyer, and several favourers of the Gospel, a young lad, sent by Zwingle, came to the door.† He was the bearer of the two famous petitions of Einsidlen, together with a letter from Zwingle, in which he desired Oswald to circulate them in Lucerne. "My advice is," added the Reformer, "that it should be done quietly and gradually, rather than all at once, for we need to *learn* to give up everything,—even our wives,—for Christ's sake."

The critical moment for Lucerne was approaching;—the bomb had fallen; the shell was about to burst. The friends read the petitions, "May God bless

* Estote ergo Græculi ac Donatistæ regale sacerdotium . . . . (Zw. Epp. 230.) *Donatistæ*, from Donatus, the author of the Latin Grammar then in use in the schools.

† Venit puer, quem misisti, inter prandendum . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 209.)

this beginning!"* exclaimed Oswald, raising his eyes to heaven. He then added: "This prayer should from this moment be the constant burthen of our hearts." The petitions were forthwith circulated,—perhaps more actively than Zwingle desired. But the moment was without example. Eleven men, the *elite* of the clergy, had placed themselves in the breach;—it was requisite to enlighten men's minds, to decide the wavering and carry with them the co-operation of the most influential members of the Diet.

Oswald, in the midst of his exertions, did not forget his friend. The young messenger had told of the attacks that Zwingle had to endure from the monks of Zurich. "The words of the Holy Ghost are invincible," wrote Myconius in reply, the same day. "Armed with the shield of the Holy Scriptures, you have overcome, not in one conflict only, or in two, but in three; and now a fourth is commencing. Hold fast those mighty weapons, whose edge is harder than the diamond. Christ needs for the defence of those who are his, nothing but his word. Your conflicts communicate unconquerable courage to all who have devoted themselves to Jesus Christ."†

The two petitions did not produce the effect expected from them in Lucerne. Some men of piety approved them,—but they were few in number. Many, fearing to compromise themselves, would neither commend nor blame them.‡ Others said, "These people will make nothing of it." The

* Deus cœpta fortunet! (Ibid.)

† Is permaneas, qui es, in Christo Jesu . . . (Ibid. p. 210.)

‡ Boni qui pauci sunt, commendant libellos vestros; alii non laudant nec vituperant. (Ibid.)

priests murmured against them, and the populace broke forth in open hostility. The passion for military adventure had again shewn itself in Lucerne, after the bloody defeat of Bicocca, and nothing but war was thought of.* Oswald, who attentively watched these varying impressions, felt his resolution fail. The reign of Gospel light in Lucerne and Switzerland, which his hopes had dwelt upon with joy, seemed to vanish. "Our countrymen are blind as to heavenly things;" said he, fetching a deep sigh, "there is nothing to be hoped from the Swiss for the glory of Christ."†

In the Council and at the Diet, exasperation was at its height. The Pope, France, England, the Empire, were all in motion round Switzerland, since the defeat of Bicocca, and the retreat of the French under command of Lautrec from Lombardy. Was it because the political interests of the moment were not sufficiently complicated that these eleven men must bring forward their petitions, thereby adding controversies of *religion?* The deputies of Zurich alone inclined to favour the Gospel. The canon Xyloctect, trembling for the safety of himself and his wife,—for he had married into one of the chief families of the neighbourhood,—had with tears declined the invitation to Einsidlen to sign the address. The canon Kilchmeyer had evinced more courage, and ere long he had need of it.—"Sentence is impending over me," he wrote on the 13th of August to Zwingle. "I await it with firmness . ."

* Belli furor occupat omnia. (Zw. Epp. p. 210.)

† Nihil ob id apud Helvetios agendum de iis rebus quæ Christi gloriam possunt augere. (Ibid.)

As he was writing, the officer of the Council entered his apartment, and delivered him a summons to appear on the following morning.* "If I am cast into prison," said he, continuing his letter, "I claim your help; but it will be easier to transport a rock from our Alps, than to move me as much as a hand's breadth from the word of Jesus Christ." Regard to his family, and the resolution that had been come to, that the storm should be directed against Oswald, —saved the canon!

Berthold Haller had not signed the petitions, perhaps because he was not Swiss by birth. But, without flinching, he, as Zwingle had done, expounded the Gospel of St. Matthew. A great crowd thronged the cathedral church of Berne. The word of God wrought more mightily than Manuel's dramas had done on the people. Haller was summoned to the town-hall,—the people escorted him thither, and continued collected in the great square. Opinions were divided in the Council. "It is a matter that concerns the bishops," said the most influential persons; "we must hand over the preacher to my Lord Bishop of Lausanne." Haller's friends were alarmed at these words, and sent him word to retire with all possible despatch. The people gathered round and bore him company, and a considerable number of burghers remained in arms in front of his dwelling, ready to form a rampart for their humble pastor, with their bodies. The Bishop and Council drew back at the aspect of this bold demonstration, and Haller was saved! But he was not the only cham-

* Tu vero audi. Hæc dum scriberem, irruit præco, a Senatoribus missus . . . (Zw. Epp. 213.)

pion of truth at Berne. Sebastian Meyer refuted the Bishop of Constance's pastoral letter, and more especially the charge that the disciples of the Gospel taught a new doctrine, and that the ancient only is the true. "To have gone wrong for a thousand years," said he, "cannot make us right for a single hour: otherwise it would have been the duty of the heathen to continue in their religion. And if the most ancient doctrines are to be preferred, then fifteen hundred years are more than five centuries,—and the Gospel is more ancient than the decrees of the Popes."*

At this time the magistrates of Friburg intercepted certain letters addressed to Haller and Meyer, by a canon of Friburg, named John Hollard, a native of Orbe. They proceeded to throw him into prison, stripped him of his appointment, and finally banished him. One John Vannius, a chorister of the cathedral, shortly after declared himself in favour of the Gospel; for in this war as soon as one soldier falls, another steps forward to occupy his place in the ranks. "How is it possible," asked Vannius, "that the muddy water of the Tiber should flow side by side with the pure stream that Luther has drawn from St. Paul's source?" But the chorister also had his mouth shut. "Among all the Swiss," said Myconius, writing to Zwingle, "there are hardly any more averse from sound doctrine than the people of Friburg."†

There was nevertheless one exception, namely

* Simml. Samml. vi.

† Hoc audio vix alios esse per Helvetiam, qui pejus velint sanæ doctrinæ. (Zw. Epp. p. 226.)

Lucerne,—and Myconius experienced this. He had not signed the celebrated petitions; but if not *he*, his friends did so;—and a victim was required. The ancient literature of Greece and Rome, thanks to his efforts, was beginning to shine upon Lucerne; —from various quarters people resorted thither to hear the learned professor; and the peacefully disposed listened with delight to softer sounds than those of halberds, swords, and cuirasses, which previous to this time had been the only sounds in that warlike city. Oswald had sacrificed every thing for his country; he had quitted Zurich and Zwingle; he had injured his health; his wife was infirm,* and his son of tender years;—if Lucerne should reject him, no where could he hope for an asylum! But these considerations had no power over the merciless spirit of party,—and the things that should have moved them to compassion, inflamed their anger. Hurtenstein, burgomaster of Lucerne, an old and brave soldier, who had acquired distinction in the wars of Suabia and Burgundy, urged the Council to dismiss the schoolmaster from his post, —and wished, together with the master, to expel his Greek and Latin, and his preaching, from the canton. He succeeded. On leaving the Council, in which it had been decided to dismiss Myconius, Hurtenstein encountered Berguer, the deputy of Zurich:—"We send you back your schoolmaster," said he, ironically; "get ready a comfortable lodging for him." "We will not let him lie in the streets,"†

* Conjux infirma. (Zw. Epp. p. 192.)

† Veniat! efficiemus enim ne dormiendum sit ei sub dio. (Ibid. 216.)

instantly replied the courageous deputy. But Berguer promised more than he could perform.

The words dropped by the burgomaster were too true, and they were soon confirmed to the distressed Myconius. He is deprived of his occupation,—banished:—and the only crime laid to his charge is that he is a disciple of Luther.* He turns his eyes on the right hand and on the left, and no where does he discern shelter. He beholds himself and his wife and child,—weak and ailing,—driven from their home,—and all around him, his country rocked by a violent tempest that is rending and destroying whatever ventures to stand against it.—"Here," said he to Zwingle, "is your poor Myconius discharged by the Council of Lucerne.† Where shall I go? . . . I know not . . . Assailed as you yourself are, how can you shelter me? . . . . I look, therefore, in my tribulation to God, as my only hope. Ever abounding, ever merciful, he suffers none who make their prayer to Him to go empty away.—May he supply my wants!"

So spake Oswald.—He waited not long before a word of consolation came to him. There was one man in Switzerland who had been schooled in trials of faith. Zwingle hastened to raise and cheer his friend. "So rude are the blows by which the enemy would level God's house," said Zwingle, "and so repeated the assaults, that it is no longer the rains descending, and the wind blowing, according to the Lord's prediction, (Matt. vii. 27.) but hail

* Nil exprobarunt nisi quod sim Lutheranus. (Zw. Epp. p. 216.)

† Expellitur ecce miser Myconius a Senatu Lucernano. (Ibid. 215.)

and thunder-storm.* If I did not discern the Lord keeping the vessel, I should long since have let go the helm;—but I see him in the height of the tempest, strengthening the cordage, shifting the yards, spreading the sails, nay more, commanding the very winds. Would it not then be the action of a faint heart, and unworthy of a man, were I to abandon my post and seek in flight a death of shame? I commit myself entirely to his sovereign goodness. Let him govern all,—let him remove impediments,—let him appear or delay, hasten or stay,—rend, swallow up, or plunge us to the bottom of the deep; we will not fear.† We are vessels that belong to Him. He can make us to honour or to dishonour, according to his pleasure!" After these breathings of lively faith, Zwingle continued:—"My advice to you is to present yourself before the Council, and there pronounce a speech worthy of Christ, and of yourself—that is to say, suited to melt and not to irritate the hearers. Deny that you are a Lutheran, but profess yourself a disciple of Jesus Christ. Let your pupils accompany you, and speak for you:—and if this does not prevail, come to your friend, come to Zwingle, and look upon our city as your own hearth."

Oswald, emboldened by these words, followed the noble counsel of the Reformer; but all his efforts were fruitless. The witness for truth was doomed to quit his country, and they of Lucerne were so active in decrying him, that every where the magis-

* Nec ventos esse, nec imbres, sed grandines et fulmina. (Zw. Epp. p. 217.)

† Regat, vehat, festinet, maneat, acceleret, moretur, mergat. (Ib.)

trates opposed the offering him an asylum: "Nothing remains for me," said the confessor of Jesus Christ, heart-broken at the aspect of so much enmity, "but to beg the support of my miserable existence from door to door."* The day soon arrived when the friend of Zwingle, and his most effective fellow-labourer, the first among the Swiss who united the office of instructor in learning with the love of the Gospel, the Reformer of Lucerne, and afterwards one of the chiefs of the Helvetic church, was compelled, with his feeble partner, and infant child, to leave that ungrateful city where, out of all his family, only one of his sisters had received the love of the Gospel. He passed its ancient bridge. He caught sight of those mountains which seemed to rise from the bosom of lake Waldstetten to the clouds. The canons Xyloctect and Kilchmeyer, the only friends the Reformation could as yet number among his countrymen, followed close behind him. And in the moment when this poor man, in company with the helpless sufferers dependent upon him for support, turned towards the lake, and, shedding tears for his infatuated country, bade adieu to the sublime natural grandeur of his birth-place,—the *Gospel* itself departed from Lucerne, and there Rome reigns unto this day.

The Diet itself, then sitting at Baden, stimulated by the severities resorted to against Myconius,—irritated by the petitions from Einsidlen, which, being printed and circulated, produced every where a strong sensation,—and persuaded by the bishop of Constance, who urged them to strike a final blow at

* Osteatim quærere quod edam. (Zw. Epp. p. 245.)

the innovators, had recourse to persecution, enjoined the authorities of the baillages to "give information against all, whether priests or laymen, who should impugn the established faith," and in blind haste proceeded to arrest the preacher who happened to be nearest, namely, Urban Weiss, pastor of Fislispach (who had before this been released on bail) and sent him to Constance, to the bishop, who kept him a long while in confinement. "In this manner," says Bullinger's Chronicle, "began the confederate states' persecution of the Gospel, and all this happened at the instigation of the clergy, who in all ages have dragged Jesus Christ before the judgment seats of Herod and Pilate."*

Zwingle was not destined to escape trial,—and he was at this time wounded in the tenderest point. A rumour of his doctrine and his struggles had passed the Santis, penetrated the Tockenburg, and reached the heights of Wildhaus. The family of herdsmen from which he sprang, were deeply moved by what they heard. Of Zwingle's five brothers some had not ceased to follow their mountain occupations; while others, to the great grief of their brother, had at times taken up arms, left their flocks, and served foreign princes. All were in consternation at the reports brought to their chalets. In imagination they beheld their brother seized, dragged before his bishop at Constance, and a pile of faggots lighted for his destruction, on the spot where John Huss had perished. The high-spirited shepherds could ill brook the thought of being called the brothers of a heretic.

* Uss anstifften der geistlichen, die zu allen Zyten, Christum Pilato und Herodi fürstellen. (MSC.)

They wrote to Ulric, communicating their distress and alarm: Zwingle answered them. "As long as God shall enable me, I will perform the task he has assigned me, without fearing the world and its proud tyrants. I know all that may befal me. There is no danger, no evil, that I have not long and carefully considered. My strength is weakness itself, and I know the power of my enemies; but I likewise know that I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me. Were I to hold my peace, another would be raised up and constrained to do what God is doing by my means,—while I should be judged by God! O, my dear brethren, banish far from your thoughts all these apprehensions. If I have a fear it is that I have been more gentle and tractable than suits the times we live in.* 'What shame,' say you, 'will fall upon all our family, if you are burnt or in any other way put to death?'† O, my beloved brethren, the Gospel derives from the blood of Christ this wondrous property, that the fiercest persecutions, far from arresting its progress, do but hasten its triumph! They alone are faithful soldiers of Christ who are not afraid to bear in their own bodies the wounds of their Master. All my efforts have no other end than to make known to men the treasures of blessedness that Christ has purchased for us; that all men may turn to the Father, through the death of his Son. If this doctrine should offend you, your anger cannot stop my testimony. You are my bro-

* Plus enim metuo ne forte lenior mitiorque fuerim. (De semper casta Virgine Maria, Zw. Opp. i.p. 104.)

† Si vel ignis vel alio quodam supplicii genere tollaris e medio. (Ibid.)

thers, yes, my own brothers, sons of my father, who have hung on the same breasts . . . but if you were not my brethren in Christ, and in the work of faith, then would my grief be so overpowering that nothing would exceed it. Farewell. I will never cease to be your attached brother, if you will not cease to be the brethren of Jesus Christ."*

The confederated Swiss seemed to rise as one man against the Gospel. The petitions from Einsidlen had been the signal of that movement. Zwingle, affected at the fate of his beloved Myconius, saw, in his misfortunes but the beginning of sorrows. Enemies within and without the city,—a man's foes, 'those of his own house,'—furious opposition from monks and priests,—strong measures of repression by the Diet and Councils,—riotous, perhaps murderous assaults, from partisans of the foreign service,—the upper valleys of Switzerland, the cradle of the Confederation, pouring forth phalanxes of invincible soldiers, to reinstate Rome, and quench the nascent revival of faith at the risk of their lives! Such was the prospect the prophetic mind of the Reformer beheld with trembling. And what a prospect! was indeed this revival to be crushed in its very beginning? Then it was that Zwingle, anxious and troubled in mind, spread before his God the deep anguish of his soul. "O Jesus," he exclaimed, "thou seest how the wicked and the blasphemer stun thy people's ears with their clamours.† Thou

* Frate, vester germanus nunquam desinam, si modo vos fratres Christi esse perrexeritis. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 107.)

† Vides enim, piissime Jesu, aures eorum septas esse nequissimis susurronibus, sycophantis, lucrionibus . . . (Zw. Opp. iii. 74.)

knowest how from my youth up I have abhorred controversy, and yet, against *my* will, thou hast never ceased to impel me to the conflict. Therefore, do I call upon Thee with confidence to finish what thou hast begun! If in any thing I have builded unwisely, let thy hand of power cast it down. If I have laid any other foundation beside Thee, let thy mighty arm overturn it.* O thou vine full of all sweetness to whom the Father is the husbandman,—and we are branches, abandon not thy suckers.† Hast thou not promised to be with us unto the end of the world!"

It was on the 22d of August, 1522, that Ulric Zwingle, the Swiss Reformer, beholding the thunder-cloud descending from the mountains on the frail bark of the Faith, thus poured forth to God the troubles and desires of his soul.

* Si fundamentum aliud præter te jecero, demoliaris! (Zw. Opp. iii. 74.)

† O suavissima vitis, cujus vinitor Pater, palmites vere nos sumus; sationem tuam ne deseras.

END OF VOL. II.

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